

# **DENIAL AND DEPRIVATION**

**INDIAN MUSLIMS AFTER THE SACHAR  
COMMITTEE AND RANGNATH MISHRA  
COMMISSION REPORTS**

*Abdur Rahman*



## DENIAL AND DEPRIVATION

This carefully researched and thoughtful study of the condition of Muslims in contemporary India emerges as a compelling indictment of the role of governments, central and state, in pushing Muslim minorities further to the outer margins of society. It documents both the development deficits and the rising hate violence and political isolation to which they are subject. It also suggests constructive solutions, including greater democratic assertion on the lines of the Dalits. It is a valuable addition to the literature on the situation of minorities in India, illuminated by the special vantage of a scholar-policeman.

HARSH MANDER

Social Activist and former Indian  
Administrative Service Officer

Coming from a sensitive police officer, the volume is a remarkable work on the systematic deprivations faced by Indian Muslims.

FAIZAN MUSTAFA

Vice-Chancellor, NALSAR University of Law

The volume attempts to gauge and analyse the level of denial and deprivation faced by Indian Muslims by evaluating their status after a gap of several years of Sachar Committee (2006) and Rangnath Mishra Commission (2007) Reports. It presents and discusses the current conditions with respect to outcome indicators such as population, education, economy, poverty, unemployment, consumption level, availability of bank loans, infrastructure and civic facilities and representation in government employment. By placing facts in perspective, it also discusses community-specific issues such as use of Urdu, *madrassa* education and Waqf.

In the post-Sachar era, governments started many schemes to improve the condition of Muslims whose reach and impact is assessed with the help of latest data. It presents the social structure of Muslims, presence of OBCs and Dalits and suggests a practical pattern for reservation. It follows up the process of implementation of recommendations of these reports and highlights how the governments adopted tokenism, attempted to implement minor recommendations and shied away from major ones.

The volume highlights the lopsided attitude of the previous UPA governments, hostile attitude of the present NDA regime and accelerated marginalization of Muslims in today's scenario due to open discrimination, mob-violence, lynching and hate crimes in the name of various communal issues.

**Abdur Rahman**, a member of the Indian Police Service, has been working for more than twenty-one years at different positions in Maharashtra. He writes and lectures on a range of socio-economic and educational issues from the perspective of the marginalized and securing social justice to the deprived.



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# Denial and Deprivation

*Indian Muslims after the Sachar Committee and  
Rangnath Mishra Commission Reports*

ABDUR RAHMAN

First published 2019

by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge

52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

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Print edition not for sale in South Asia (India, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, Pakistan or Bhutan)

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data*

A catalog record for this book has been requested

ISBN: 9780367175856 (hbk)

ISBN: 9780429058202 (ebk)

Typeset in Adobe Garamond 11/13

by Kohli Print, Delhi 110 051



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# Acknowledgements

What is the social, economic and educational condition of Indian Muslims after more than eleven years of the Sachar Committee Report (2006) and Rangnath Mishra Commission Report (2007)? What reactions did these reports receive from the various political parties and academic circles? Based on latest data, what is the condition of Indian Muslims with regard to outcome indicators such as population, education, economic condition, poverty, etc.? What is the demographic profile of the community and myths about its rampant population growth? How does the socio-economic profile of Muslims compare with the Upper Caste Hindus, Hindu OBCs, Dalits, Tribals and other minorities? What is the representation of Muslims in government employment? What is the condition of Waqfs, Urdu and *Madrasa*? Which are the deprived sections and the reservation pattern for them? What is the level of implementation of these reports? What is the reach and impact of the schemes initiated in the post-Sachar era? Is there any effort from the community to come out of the precarious condition it finds itself in? I have attempted to answer these questions in this volume. Whether I have succeeded or not in this endeavour, the readers can decide for themselves. I have tried my best.

After publication of these two reports, several community organizations, NGOs, community activists, RTI activists, committed individuals, etc., have been making tireless efforts to fathom the level of implementation of these reports and assess the impact of schemes meant for minorities. However, there was no clear picture on the national level. Worsening conditions, marginalization of Muslims and pathetic state of implementation of policies compelled me to think deeply. That proved to be the initial inspiration and encouragement to write this book.

The process of writing the book brought me closer to some of India's finest academicians, thinkers, authors, activists, such as



Arundhati Roy, Syed Zafar Mahmood, Abusalah Shariff, Abdul Shaban, Sunil Sardar, Braj Ranjan Mani, Dilip Ghavde, Advocate Motahar Hussain, John Dayal, Akhtarul Wasey, to name just a few. I have been enriched and illuminated by their vast academic knowledge, guidance and solidarity. Abdul Shaban provided me with required information and suggested some changes after reading a few chapters. His continuous support and comments was crucial in my endeavour. I owe a lot to him.

My journalist friends Nadeem Inamdar, Afroz Alam Sahil, Aleem Faizee and Dilnawaz Pasha provided me with the latest data and on various stages shared the perception of the community about the pathetic condition and corrective steps taken. I am grateful for the help they gave me. Nadeem too read a few chapters of the book and gave his suggestions and comments for improvement. I am grateful to him. This book could not have been possible without the help of Afroz who not only provided data but also read and gave his comments. His encouragement and critical help was an invaluable support for me. I am specially thankful and grateful to him.

This book would not have been possible without the invaluable help of Vinod Patil who not only typed out the whole manuscript but also analysed and put in proper format the vast population data mentioned in chapter five. He also compiled all the tables and cross checked them. I am really grateful to him. Besides, my personal assistants Dhanaji Kamble and Sandip Ingle searched on various websites required information. My assistants in the Wireless department Trupti Kulkarni and Ashwini Udare helped in sending out and receiving different versions of the typescript. I am grateful to them.

Without loved ones, writing a book would surely be too lonely and difficult exercise to bear for long. I am thankful to my family members. Special thanks to Ammi, Sabeekhan Khatoon, who taught me numbers in my childhood which made mathematics the dearest subject in my life. Friends came forward with precious support whenever I was mired in doubt. Thanks are due to Arif Mohammad, Ali Daruwala, Habib Shaikh, Nitin Sardar, Adil Hassan, Iqbal Shaikh, Aasim Ali and Abid Hussain who encouraged me a lot.

I got invaluable help from a lot of community organizations, NGOs, activists, RTI activists and individuals involved in community welfare. Although it is difficult to acknowledge everyone by name here, I am indebted to all of them. Thanks to Noor Mohammad, Adam B. Chaki, Mohammad Naushad, Haji Husnoddin Khatik and Shamsuddin Shaikh. Also to Aslam Jamadar and Mehboob Shaikh of Pune.

Last but not the least, the publication of this book would not have been possible without the keen interest shown by Ramesh Jain of Manohar. Siddharth Chowdhury, editor at Manohar, read the different versions of the typescript at various stages and gave his invaluable suggestions and comments for improvement. He saw the volume through the Press. I am really grateful to him.

I dedicate the book to hundreds of community organizations, NGOs, activists, and committed and spirited individuals who incessantly and tirelessly are involved in the larger effort of empowerment of Muslims. Although great care has been taken to minimize the errors in the book, but some typing or factual errors can't be ruled out. The responsibility for this is mine exclusively. I will be most happy and grateful if readers could point out any error in the book and suggest points to improve its effectiveness in later editions.

I close with great hope and expectations that the intended readers and the people in the government would read the volume and provide valuable help in their capacity to improve the overall condition of Indian Muslims. I also close with comforting thought that it would help in reducing disparity in Indian society and mainstreaming the Muslims community in the greater effort of nation building.

ABDUR RAHMAN



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## CHAPTER 1

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# Introduction

## BACKGROUND

We Indians celebrated our 72nd Independence Day on 15 August 2018. A general jubilation was felt and the day was celebrated differently at different places to commemorate the birth of our nation. India gained its independence after more than two centuries of repressive British rule. Our esteemed and long-sighted freedom fighters had been dreaming of an ideal nation which would be democratic, secular and socialist in nature. They had been visualizing a republic which would ensure justice, liberty, equality and fraternity and there would be just and equitable distribution of the country's resources among all communities. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar drafted the Constitution by incorporating those dreams and all possible elements of a modern secular nation. India adopted the Constitution and became a republic on 26 January 1950. The Constitution gave social justice and voice to the communities which had been the victim of centuries of neglect, injustice and religion-sanctioned hatred and discrimination. When India awakened to life and freedom, all socio-religious communities (SRC) were not on the same level of social, economic and educational development. By taking a revolutionary step, the parliament approved reservation in government jobs, education and politics for the Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST). A special Act to end discrimination and violent treatment against the SCs/STs was enacted. The successive governments at the centre and all state governments have been implementing a wide variety of schemes and programmes to facilitate the socio-economic development of the vulnerable groups especially SCs and STs to provide them social and economic security. Generous budgetary allocations are done to all the programmes

meant for development of SCs and STs. Due to these welcome steps, they have been able to catch up with all other social groups. Has the situation been similar for the Indian Muslims?

After 71 years of Independence, India has achieved significant socio-economic growth and development and has made tremendous progress in science & technology, agriculture, means of communication, space technology, computer science and IT. It has also been very successful in reducing the level of poverty and improving crucial human development indicators such as health, life expectancy, literacy and education. Numerous studies and reports, however, reveal that not all communities and social groups have shared equally the benefits of the growth process. If all social groups and communities do not get equal benefit from the development process, it creates discontent and distrust among them. Giving equal benefit to all, creates mutual respect and cooperation among them. If the development process is misdirected or not equally focused, they may have opposite result. Economic, social, educational and political inclusion of all on the basis of equality and justice is essential for the unity and integrity of the country. Studies of prominent scholars and government reports show that Muslims are one of the most backward communities in India. They are away from the mainstream and are lagging behind most of the communities in terms of most of the socio-economic indicators. Although Muslims constitute 14.2 per cent of the population, yet their contribution to the GDP is only about 6 per cent. Recent data show that on most socio-economic indicators, general condition of Muslims is comparable to or even worse than the SCs and STs.

There is no dearth of books, government records and reports prepared by academicians and civil society on Muslims in India. Colonial rulers, after 1857, at times, also published reports on social and employment conditions of Muslim. After Independence a lull was observed. Shortly after Independence, in 1949, the Nehru administration decided not to cross-tabulate economic and religious/ethnic group data because it felt that such statistics had heightened communal and caste sensibilities during the colonial era.<sup>1</sup> However, it is clear that exclusion of caste- and community-wise data in the national economic life did not decrease casteism

or communalism, nor did it promote a caste-free society.<sup>2</sup> But soon after, reports on Muslims' social and employment status began to emerge. These include various reports including the Sachar Committee Report (SCR) and the Rangnath Mishra Commission Report (RMCR). The SCR and the RMCR have completely engaged Muslim leadership and intelligentsia and have been the subject of discussion at all forums.

The first official document establishing the Muslims' backwardness was the Report of the PM's High Level Committee (HLC) better known as the Sachar Committee. It was mandated to obtain relevant information from all departments/ministries, consolidate, collate and analyse the information and present a report on the social, economic and educational status of the Muslim community of India. It comprehensively documented the economic backwardness and deprivation of the Muslims along most vital indicators. The SCR recognizes that the Muslim community 'exhibits deficits and deprivation in practically all aspects of development'. It completely demolishes the myth of 'appeasement' and 'pampered treatment' of the community. This is evidence not of favoured treatment, but cumulative and comprehensive official discrimination and neglect. It suggested various measures to improve the socio-economic and educational condition of Muslims of India.<sup>3</sup>

The second report is by the National Commission for Religious and Linguistic Minorities (NCRLM), better known as the Rangnath Mishra Commission (RMC). The RMCR is considered the most revolutionary report as, first time in the history of independent India, it recommended reservation for minorities including Muslims and to amend para 3 of the Constitution (SC) Order, 1950, which deprives Dalits belonging to the Muslim and Christian communities of the SC status. Its recommendations are strong and have been hailed all over the country among scholars and academicians.<sup>4</sup>

These two reports clearly made public the socio-economic status of Muslims. While the first is described as the diagnostic report or the health check-up report of the Muslim community, the second suggests remedial measures. Justice Sachar brought out facts over ground which had been in the shape of myths and perceptions till

eleven years back. The SCR suggests remedial measures which include revolutionary and modern steps sensing huge backwardness. Extreme backwardness and alienation of the community were being felt and perceived by the common man. The essence of what Sachar Committee has put on record was known to the common man. People had been discussing these issues at tea stalls, homes, various forums etc. The 'perception' and 'common knowledge' of the common man has got 'official seal' and now has become authentic. The RMCR, by recommending reservation and deletion of the Presidential Order, has also given 'official sanction' to the long-pending demands of the community.

These reports sent 'shock waves' not only in the Muslim community but also among common citizens of India. Having got official seal of their backwardness and sanction of reservation demand, the community members suddenly woke up from the slumber. They petitioned, staged *dharna*, took out processions, agitated, blocked roads, courted arrest, etc., to press the government to implement these two reports. At all forums people cited the SCR for acute backwardness and the demand of reservation was backed by the RMCR. Political parties which thrive on Muslim votes, pushed the government in the corner and demanded to implement these reports. The UPA government of Manmohan Singh which had these two reports prepared, suddenly became cautious and defensive. Although it was inching towards implementation, it did not take major steps for the fear of losing the majority vote. The fiercest opposition came from the members of right-wing political parties, which not only opposed the report vehemently, but vowed not to implement them in the states ruled by them. They said that these reports were unconstitutional as they discriminated people on the basis of religion. By and large some section of the media regularly reported the progress and remained neutral. A section of the media has been opposing, few of them supporting it without any reservation. Academicians and scholars both are weighing on different scales. Both the lines – opposition as well as support – are not in conformity with the objective analysis. These reports should be analysed in the context of the prevailing socio-

economic, employment and educational conditions and the space provided by the Indian Constitution.<sup>5</sup>

The SCR enjoined governments to pave the way out of the deprivation-trap for Muslims through ‘inclusive development and mainstreaming of the community, while respecting diversity’. Optimistic members of the community had hoped that the governments would do something concrete for it. However, the scale of government intervention was too small to touch even the fringes of the numbers of deprived people. Several writers have criticized the pace of implementation. K. Rahman Khan, then Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, on 15 March 2011, criticized the centre for not fully and honestly implementing the Sachar Committee recommendations.<sup>6</sup> A Parliamentary Standing Committee (PSC) pulled up the government for mere lip service to the recommendations of the SCR. It pointed out that the government was not attending to the ‘crux of the problems’ brought out in the report. Muslim organizations and intellectuals have always questioned the efficacy of schemes and criticized the slow pace and shabby implementation of the provisions. Sensing the situation, K. Rahman Khan, then minority minister, formed a committee in 2013 to review the process of implementation of the Sachar Committee recommendations.

#### GENESIS OF THESE REPORTS

Experts trace the origin of these two reports in the manifesto of the Congress party released before the general election of 2004. It said, ‘The Congress believes in affirmative action for all religious and linguistic minorities’. It reiterated that the Congress was committed to adopting the policy of reservation followed in Kerala and Karnataka, for socially and educationally backward sections among Muslims and other minorities on a national scale.<sup>7</sup> This statement is directly linked with the setting up of the RMC. There were commitments on Muslims’ education, economy and communal violence measures also. This resulted in the setting up of the Sachar Committee in 2005.



## THE SCR AND RMCR

From Sir W. Hunter's book (1871) to the Gopal Panel Report (1983), there are enormous documented evidence to show that on all indices – income, health, education, employment – Muslims rated dismally lower than other communities. To have a clear picture on all this, the UPA-I (2004-9) set up the Sachar Committee with the aim to ascertain the socio-economic and educational status of Muslims. The committee based its report on contemporary data and came up with some startling facts. The SCR is an extremely valuable document on social, economic and educational status of Muslims for two reasons. First, it exposed the myth of 'Muslim's appeasement' as its findings were shocking testimony to six decades of institutional bias and neglect that had left Muslims far behind other SRCs. Second, its recommendations contained seeds of a 'major socio-economic transformation' of Indian Muslims.<sup>8</sup>

On 27 November 2011, Late Syed Shahabuddin, a former Member of Parliament, said,

According to the Report of the Sachar Committee, the Muslim community is almost as backward as the SCs and STs and more backward than the non-Muslim OBCs. The government has been ignoring its own reports and commissions to silence the people. The Gopal Panel Report (1983) was simply filed away. Today, the recommendations of Sachar Report have been reduced to the award of a few thousand scholarships which are hardly delivered within the current year. Now we had the recent example of historic NCRLM, headed by a former Chief Justice of India, Justice Rangnath Mishra, which had been gathering dust on the table of the Parliament for three years without being discussed.<sup>9</sup>

The SCR presents a dismal picture and gives detailed account of the position of Indian Muslims without any 'exaggerated description or emotional comments'. It reveals the extent to which Muslims have been marginalized during decades of development. It is not that Muslims were not aware of their position but they never knew that they were lagging behind other minority groups at the all-India level and had even fallen behind the SCs in some states. They wonder how Muslims, who were noted for research, entrepreneurship and spirit of enquiry in earlier centuries, currently

languish as spectators rather than as participants in the vibrant new India. The committee said, 'Our analysis shows that while there is considerable variations in the conditions of Muslims across states, the community exhibits deficits and deprivation in practically all dimensions of development'.<sup>10</sup>

In an article, Dr. Syed Zafar Mahmood, a retired bureaucrat, said that the PM's HLC in 2006 and the Mishra Commission in 2007, had duly documented, supported by the most authentic data, that in our country the plight of Muslims was pitiable. Muslim representation was very low in almost all areas. In some areas Muslims were totally invisible. Even basic infrastructure was mostly unavailable in Muslim settlements. He quoted the former bureaucrat and human rights activist Harsh Mander's *Promises to Keep*.

Officials of the central and state governments and those in the districts are fully aware that the Sachar Committee had been appointed for the sake of completing electoral formality but its implementation does not figure in the Government's political calculations. For this reason necessary initiatives have not been taken to implement the SCR even after 5 years of its presentation.<sup>11</sup>

Dr. Mohammed Manzoor Alam, the chairman of the Institute of Objective Studies (IOS), says that the first and foremost document establishing Muslims backwardness is the report of the Sachar Committee. The report established that India's Muslims face massive and appalling socio-economic deprivation. It recognized that Muslims endure 'deficits and deprivation in practically all dimensions of socio-economic development'. It also showed that social deprivation of Muslims, in some measures, as a group, fell below the Dalits. He says that the report of the RMC was submitted to the government in May 2007 but it was tabled in the Parliament under sustained pressure from MPs on 18 December 2009. The RMC recommended reservation for minorities including Muslims. It also recommended deletion of para 3 of the Constitution (SC) Order, 1950 which deprived Dalits belonging to the Muslims and Christian communities of the benefits of SC reservations.<sup>12</sup>

The Sachar Committee, in its data collection days, had recommended the head count of Muslims in different levels of the army. But the idea was strongly resisted by then Army Chief, General

J.J. Singh who said that such a move would dent the core of the institution. In January 2006, L.K. Advani, then leader of opposition in the Lok Sabha walked out from the house over the issue of Muslims' head count. The idea of head count was finally dropped and hence, the SCR is silent on Muslims' representation in the Indian Army.<sup>13</sup>

#### DISAPPOINTMENT OVER NON-IMPLEMENTATION

Several scholars, academicians, organizations, political parties, NGOs, etc., have expressed disappointment over the non-implementation of the findings of the SCR. At times, they have pointed out the ineffectiveness of the schemes run to implement it. Justice Rajinder Sachar is dissatisfied and has demanded a 'white paper' on the present condition of the Muslim community since he submitted the report.<sup>14</sup> He further said, 'After receiving the report, the Central government had made too much publicity that it would implement the report. But fact is that, it has not taken any concrete steps to implement the recommendations'.<sup>15</sup>

At a conference on 'the SCR and 12th Five Year Plan (FYP)' organized by Strive for Eminence and Empowerment (SEE) in Gujarat on 29 September 2013, Maulana Fajlur Rahim Mujaddidi expressed disappointment over the non-implementation of the provisions of the SCR and stressed the need to create a national level awareness to pressurize the centre and states to implement the two reports.<sup>16</sup> At the conference, Arjunbhai Modhwadia, then president of Gujarat Congress, expressed his deep dissatisfaction over the non-implementation of the provisions of the SCR.<sup>17</sup>

Abdur Rahman Yusuf Shaikh, a columnist in Urdu newspapers, from Bhiwandi said that the UPA government had scratched numerous wounds of the community by setting up the Sachar Committee. The government was then rubbing salt on it. He said that from time to time grave problems of Muslims were tossed in the Parliament and all political parties shed crocodile tears and later forget. He asked, 'When will the recommendations of the Sachar Committee be implemented?'<sup>18</sup> Similarly, Abusaleh Shariff

and Dr. Zafar Mahmood along with prominent scholars and community activists have expressed dissatisfaction over the scanty implementation of these reports.

#### FOUR YEARS AFTER THE REPORTS

Activists, scholars and Civil Society Groups (CSG) have been continuously highlighting the issue of non-implementation of the provisions of the SCR on occasions of anniversary of submission of the report to the PM. A study was undertaken and a report titled *Promises to Keep* was published by Harsh Mander. This is one of the most elaborate and exhaustive post-Sachar studies. Mander writes, 'Even after four years the Sachar Committee Report revealed that Muslims were one of the most economically backward and socially disadvantaged communities, nothing much has been done to address the development deficits of the community'. He further writes, 'The report enjoined governments to take out the Muslim community from deprivation-trap. Optimistic observers may have expected that the governments would stir themselves and do something. However, four years after the publication of the report, these hopes stand substantially belied. . . .'<sup>19</sup> Mander's report was welcomed by the community. But the central government rejected it, citing two reasons – factual inaccuracies and that plans could not be made 'exclusively for a religious group'. A cross-section of the Muslims expressed deep concern over the central governments' 'summary' and 'unjust' rejection of the report. They said that the report only, at best confirmed and at worst, reinforced the community's perception that even after more than four years of the SCR, nothing much had been done on the ground. They said that the political drive and vision that informed the setting up of the Sachar Committee was not matched by the steps of the government to address the deficits.<sup>20</sup>

Dr. K. Rahman Khan, then Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha, while praising the setting up of the Ministry of Minority Affairs (MMA), questioned its performance and success rate of its mega minority welfare schemes like scholarships and Multi-Sectoral

Development Programme (MSDP). He criticized the then centre for not fully and honestly implementing the Sachar Committee recommendations.<sup>21</sup> Salman Khurshid, then minority minister giving reply to raised issues, clarified that the government had not taken any steps as to implementation of the recommendations of the SCR and the RMC pertaining to the reservation. However, he informed that the ministry had been seriously discussing the issue of reservation.<sup>22</sup>

#### FIVE YEARS AFTER THE REPORT'S

In order to mark the fifth anniversary of the SCR, the TwoCircles.net (TCN) had published a series, 'Muslims after 5 years of the Sachar Report' to investigate the depth of implementation. In the first part, Md. Ali writes 'Even though the UPA announced several times it had "in principle" accepted the recommendation of the Sachar Committee, the last five years' journey of the report is marked by the pressure and delay tactics as well as negotiations between the community and the UPA to get Sachar recommendations implemented on the ground, at state and the central levels.' There were several consequential steps taken by the government, e.g. setting up of a separate minority ministry, declaring districts with at least 25 per cent Muslim population as Minority Concentrated District (MCD) and inclusion of MCDs into MSDP, pre- and post-matric scholarships, establishment of National Minorities Development and Finance Corporation (NMDFC) and the new PM's 15-point programme. There was palpable anger and anguish in the community which thought the money was not reaching the people on ground. Even after five years, the community was still protesting and demanding from the government to take the Sachar recommendations seriously.<sup>23</sup>

In the second part, Tanvir Salim, a nuclear engineer settled in the USA writes, 'Today, when India is trying to become the next super power, the dilemma faced by Muslims is that they have no significant role to play in the glory days of the nation that lie ahead and the SCR simply tells us that we are not even in the team'. He

stressed for community initiatives to get the recommendations implemented and said, 'We have to seek control of our own destiny.'<sup>24</sup>

In the third part, Mohammad Ismail Khan writes about the status of implementation of the SCR in Andhra Pradesh (AP). He lamented that although AP was the first state to act on the SCR, but even after five years, Muslims were the most deprived section. The state had taken many steps to implement the recommendations of the SCR. In the beginning they had been magnanimous, but later they all had lost their charm, because of the half-hearted efforts. He says, 'In whole it is still long journey for the state, to implement all recommendations of the Sachar Committee.'<sup>25</sup>

In the fourth part, Zaidul Haque writes about a new report on Muslims of West Bengal (WB) which was prepared by the Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta (CSSSC). He says, 'This November, the SCR completed five years of "shelf life"'. He pointed out that some debate but more politics had been done on the findings of the SCR. But after its publication, the central government asked the CSSSC to conduct the survey in 12 MCDs of WB. The survey report revealed that Muslims' condition in WB was pathetic as far as education, social and physical infrastructure, health, etc., were concerned. Muslims were the ones who least benefited from the several government flagship schemes.<sup>26</sup>

A delegation of Muslim MPs led by K. Rahman Khan met the then PM Dr. Manmohan Singh on 12 December 2011 and apprised him about the unchanged situation of the community after five years of the SCR. The MPs pointed out in-effective implementation of the schemes run by the government and sought the PM's personal intervention to solve the problems of the community. They explained, 'The BPL methodology adopted by the Planning Commission (PC) debars Muslims though their socio-economic conditions are almost at par with SCs.' They demanded a comprehensive approach through personal intervention of the PM.<sup>27</sup>

Rajdeep Sardesai, the eminent broadcast journalist, writes about the government attitude of persistently neglecting the community. He criticized the central government's move to grant a 4.5 per cent sub-quota for minorities. He says,

If you can not provide them education, jobs, bank loans or save them from terror tag, what better way to reach out to UP's 18 per cent Muslims than offer them quotas. . . . The SCR had exposed the pitiable condition of the Indian Muslims (on some parameters even below the Dalits and Adivasi) and had spoken of the need for affirmative action. For five years, the UPA government did not act on many of the Sachar panel recommendations, but then does so 48 hours before the UP poll process begins. If that is not cynical real politic, then what is?<sup>28</sup>

After five years, the SCR remained a mere rhetoric. The Congress fared very badly in 2012 Uttar Pradesh (UP) election as fortunes of the Congress did not lie in half-hearted attempts of inclusion. Giving token benefits on the eve of election would not work further.<sup>29</sup>

Realizing the plight of Muslims in WB even after five years of the SCR, the Muslims decided to take stock of their condition. Members of the civil society, a few academicians and some activists set up a committee to conduct a survey. The survey titled 'Public Report on Socio-Economic Status of Muslim of West Bengal' was planned to involve at least 5,000 Muslim households to get first-hand data.

On the occasion of the 14th International Conference of the Institute of Objective Studies (IOS), the panelists Ravi Nair and Wajahat Habibullah emphasized the fear created by illegal arrests of Muslims and recommended to end the institutional prejudices in police and other departments. Harish Rawat, soon to be Uttarakhand CM, said that people who did not know Urdu, even without reading a single book, described any Urdu book as 'Jehadi literature'. Dr. Md. Manzoor Alam pointed to the prevalence of organized partiality against Muslims. Dr. Abusaleh Shariff, a noted economist, made a power point presentation on 'Five years After Sachar Report 2004-5 to 2009-10' and said that the report had 14 chapters of which many had never been debated and analysed. At the end of the conference a 10-point resolution was adopted by voice vote. Resolution no. 10 reads: 'It is felt that along with other measures, the recommendations of Sachar Committee and the RMC should be evaluated and monitored from the point of view of their implementation and impact.'<sup>30</sup>

## SIX YEARS AFTER THE REPORTS

In January 2013, a seminar was organized to review the progress made by Muslims after six years of the SCR. Three members of the committee namely Justice (Retd.) Sachar, Abusaleh Shariff and T.K. Oomen, discussed with experts and politicians about what had changed for Muslims in the last six years. K. Rahman Khan said that after six years of the report there was a need to critically analyse policies designed to implement its recommendations. Abusaleh Shariff admitted 'little improvement' on the ground and lamented the lack of fundamental shift in politics and policy to help Muslims achieve 'mainstreaming aspirations'. He explained through figures that Muslims had not benefited from the governments flagship schemes.<sup>31</sup> The focus of the seminar was in the paper, 'Six years after Sachar: A Review of Inclusive Policies in India', presented by Shariff which said there was no perceptible improvement in the status of Muslims since the committee submitted its report.<sup>32</sup>

IIM Ahmedabad and Observer Research Foundation (ORF) has had a report prepared by Dr. Rakesh Basant, a renowned economist. The report, titled 'Education and Employment Among Muslims in India', said that the Indian Muslims had been facing discrimination in five areas of social structure. These areas were social prestige, economy, education, employment and politics. Bad effect of discrimination was visible in their economic condition – be it either the matter of employment or self-employed enterprises. It was published exactly on the sixth anniversary of the SCR.<sup>33</sup>

The most comprehensive report on the occasion of the sixth year of the SCR was the report of Dr. Abusaleh Shariff, chief scholar, US-India Policy Institute (USIPI). The paper titled 'Six Years After Sachar' was published in January 2013 and was funded by the USIPI and Centre for Research and Debates in Development Policy (CRDDP). It says that the successive governments – both at the centre and states – have failed miserably to address the backwardness of the largest minority community in India. It says that UPA-I took a number of initiatives during the last six years to address the deprivation of Muslims. Two most important of these



initiatives were: MSDP in 90 MCDs and the pre- and post-matric scholarships schemes. Despite its repeated support for the SCR, the government has a lackluster record vis-à-vis implementation of the major provisions of the SCR. It demonstrated that the condition of Muslims had not shown any 'measurable improvement' during the last six years of the SCR. The government steps include some 'half-hearted' policy and programme initiatives. It says, 'These exclusionary conditions persists even after the PM's parliamentary statement that the minorities have the first claim over public resources within the framework of Indian Democracy'.<sup>34</sup>

#### SEVEN YEARS AFTER THE REPORTS

To mark the seventh anniversary of the submission of the SCR, several organizations, NGOs, political parties, etc., held seminars, conferences, discussions, etc. The Surat Conference titled '21st Century's Socio-Economic Challenges' was one of them. In keynote address, Maulana Mujaddidi described the poor social, economic and educational status of Muslims of Gujarat. He stressed for the implementation of the SCR and said, 'Indian Government's dream to become super power can never be fulfilled until and unless Muslims are made part and parcel of inclusive growth and equal partners in the country's all round development'.<sup>35</sup>

A national conference on 'Seven Years After Sachar' was held at Jaipur on 2 June 2013. Maulana Mujaddidi said that socio-economic development policies in India had ignored Muslims the most, the historically deprived SCs/STs under constitutional safeguards had been on the highest priority. After the SCR, the UPA-I started the PM's new 15-point programme (15-PP) and the 11th FYP for the first time accepted the socio-economic backwardness of Muslims and made a concerted effort to reverse some of the trends that plagued the minorities in general and Muslims in particular. Those policy initiatives brought desirable results but of late, however, various obstacles were encountered. A concept note on the topic said that if the recommendations were implemented honestly, it could bring dramatic changes in the life of Muslims just as the implementation of the Mandal Commission did for the OBCs.<sup>36</sup>

At a meeting of the Forum for Muslim Studies & Analysis (FMSA), its General Secretary Jasim Mohammad pointed out that even after seven years, the recommendations of the SCR could not be implemented fully and the socio-economic status of Muslims remained the same. He pointed out the failure of the government in constituting Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC).<sup>37</sup>

Mohammed Naushad Khan, a columnist, says, 'The implementation of the Sachar Committee recommendations was a ray of hope and was considered a milestone for overall growth of the community. Seven years after its presentation, the minority groups are still under-represented in various government sectors.' What is more disturbing is that the figures have declined further as compared to the previous years. Representation of Muslims in government employment was 7.28 per cent in 2009-10 and 10.18 in 2010-11. But, it had come down to 6.24 per cent in 2011-12. This speaks volumes about the seriousness of the government. This also shows that the implementation has stopped yielding any positive results.<sup>38</sup>

In July 2013, Dr. Shakeel Samdani, president, Sir Syed Awareness Forum, AMU, said that in the wake of the SCR, only scholarships had been released and some development work had been undertaken in MCDs, as for the rest, there was only hype and no sincere work had been done. He regretted that the socio-economic condition of Muslims had not improved much and no serious effort had been made to increase their representation in the Parliament and State Assemblies. The issue of reservation had been sidelined and the government had not filed affidavit in the Supreme Court in the PIL concerning giving of SC status to Dalit Muslims. This showed government's indifferent attitude and apathy towards the Muslim issues.<sup>39</sup>

Syed Zafar Mahmood said that even after seven years of the Sachar, it had not been implemented properly. During four-and-a-half years (of UPA-II) only the Wakf Amendment Bill had been passed and that too several vital recommendations had been left out. He advised all to read Harsh Mander's *Promises to Keep* for proper evaluation of implementation in Muslim-dominated districts. He expressed his agreement with the report and said,

'the SCR has not been implemented because the implementation machinery knows that the government does not have the political will to do so'. He said that the government did not want to be associated with Muslims' cause as it would give the Sangh a handle to talk about 'minority appeasement'.<sup>40</sup>

A discussion on the topic, '6 Years [read 7 years] of Sachar Report' was organized at Haj House in Mumbai on 8 October 2013. Maulana Wali Rahmani said that in the name of implementation nothing had been done. He said that in reference to SCR, only two works had been done: scholarships and starting of MSDP. Muslims had not received much benefit from the 15-PP. He cited the example of Assam where 5,700 houses had been constructed, but only 5 per cent Muslims were beneficiaries under Indira Aawas Yojna (IAY). He said, 'The government says that Muslims do not want to study but I say that government doesn't want to educate Muslims.' He suggested the path of persistent struggle to have the Sachar Committee recommendations implemented.<sup>41</sup>

Javed Anand, the co-editor of *Communalism Combat*, wrote that in 2006 the UPA government accepted in toto the recommendations of the Sachar Committee, aimed at correcting the prevalent institutionalized discrimination against Muslims and promoting equal opportunity to all citizens. But its performance in the last seven years has been so pathetic that even a member of Planning Commission, Abhijit Sen, was constrained to remark recently that it would be better to scrap the MMA.<sup>42</sup>

Although several organizations, NGOs, etc., have been trying to get the recommendations of the SCR implemented, contribution of the SEE to this end has been noteworthy. The SEE has been holding seminars/conferences, etc., at various places in India to educate the people about the SCR and RMCR and also to monitor their status of implementation. These seminars were held at Azamgarh, Kanpur, Surat, Jaipur, Mumbai, Lucknow, Valsad and many other places. Its chairman Maulana Mujaddidi has always been pointing out the deficits in the socio-economic conditions of Muslims and at the same time reminding the government about the promises it made to Muslims and to take steps to implement the recommendations of the SCR. He has released several volumes

on 'Reflections after Sachar' for this purpose. Volume 23, released in May 2013, describes and gives a clear picture of the status of implementation on some important provisions. It says the SCR is a valuable document which describes Muslims' backwardness and exposes the Sangh Parivar's baseless propaganda of 'Muslims Appeasement' and its recommendations contain the seeds of major socio-economic transformation of Indian Muslims. According to it, the impact of the SCR were as under:

1. Immediately making the report public (30 November 2006).
2. Creation of a new Ministry of Minority Affairs as a nodal agency (26 January 2006).
3. Launching of the PM's new 15-PP for Welfare of Minorities (June 2006).
4. The 11th FYP, for the first time, made an effort on socio-economic issues of minorities.
5. A 'More Inclusive' approach was incorporated in the 12th FYP (2012-17).
6. Launching of several scholarship schemes and MSDP in MCDs.

It says, 'We have still miles to go as there exists some political weaknesses at the Centre as well as in the States'. It lists the shortcomings: The EOC is relegated to the dustbin; Assessment and Monitoring Authority is created without any power and the National Data Bank (NDB) has still not been created. Maulana advises Muslims to exercise their 'right to dissent' which is the main indicator of a mature democracy. A sustained nationwide citizen's campaign is needed to force the governments at the centre and the states to get the recommendation of the Sachar Panel and RMC implemented holistically.<sup>43</sup>

#### EIGHT, NINE AND TEN YEARS AFTER THE REPORTS

Either due to decline in motivation and enthusiasm or change of regime at the centre, no activity was noticed on the eighth anniversary (30 November 2014) of the SCR. The same trend was

visible in 2015. Due to either ideological opposition of the BJP to Muslims progress or hostile statements of many BJP leaders, Muslims avoided to remind the government to implement the provisions of the SCR. On the occasion of the tenth anniversary, Muslim organizations, NGOs and activists across the country observed the day with awareness programmes, workshops, presentation of demands to the governments, etc. The Movement for Peace and Justice organized a consultation programme on the affirmative action taken by the governments and its impact on the community. On 17 November 2016, it also submitted memorandums to all district collectors in Maharashtra to remind the government about the unfulfilled promises. Members of about 20 organizations under the banner of the Andhra Pradesh Ahle Sunnatul Jamat demanded that the BJP government implement the SCR and RMCR for the uplift of poor Muslims and avoid interfering in religious matters. Prominent organizations in Pune including Jamat Raza-e-Mustafa, Indian Muslim Front and Muslim Satya Sodhak Mandal demanded that the SCR be implemented without any further delay. At Muslim Empowerment Convention held by Karnataka Muslim Coordination Committee, Justice Sachar suggested the states ruled by 'secular' parties to adopt the SCR and implement it for the development of Muslims (*The Deccan Herald*, 29 November 2016). On 'Ten years of the Sachar Report', several Muslim leaders and scholars demanded from the 'secular parties' to implement the SCR and set up an EOC in the states ruled by them. Zafar Mahmood informed that only '10 per cent' recommendations of the SCR have been implemented.

## EVIDENCE OF NON-IMPLEMENTATION

### PARLIAMENTARY STANDING COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL JUSTICE AND EMPOWERMENT

A PSC on Social Justice and Empowerment (SJE) headed by the then MP Dara Singh Chauhan had found fault with the implementation of the Sachar Committee recommendations. It said that except for some scholarship schemes and financial aid under

Maulana Azad Education Foundation, the MMA headed by (then) Salman Khurshid 'was not paying heed to the root of the problem as publicized in the report of the Sachar Committee'. It said, 'The committee hence desires that the ministry should work in the direction of bringing a law in Parliament in this regard.'<sup>44</sup> It noted that the government was not attending to the 'crux of the problems' stated in the report and if 'the recommendation were implemented in letter and spirit, it would go a long way in uplifting the minority community'.<sup>45</sup>

#### SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT REPORT 2012: MINORITIES AT THE MARGINS

This report was prepared by scholars such as Zoya Hasan, Mushirul Hasan, Tanweer Fazal, Javed Alam Khan and Abusaleh Shariff among others. It says how the UPA government failed to implement the recommendations of the Sachar Committee, with its response to socio-economic backwardness of Muslims at best being 'cautious and minimalist'. The reasons for government's failure are: Misplaced focus of minority-oriented programmes, lack of funds and fear of the taunts of 'minority appeasement'. It lists following faults with the implementation:

1. Schemes of mainstream education are diverted to modernization of *madrasas*.
2. The MSDP has benefited only 30 per cent of the Muslim population.
3. In many states infrastructure projects have been diverted to non-minority areas.
4. Muslims are totally away from banking and credit facilities.
5. Budgetary allocation for minorities are not in proportion to their population.
6. Allocated funds are not utilized properly.
7. Compared with SCs/STs, scholarship schemes are discriminatory.

Mushirul Hasan blamed the MMA for such failures and said, 'It is devoid of any ideas and social commitments.'<sup>46</sup>

## LEGAL PETITIONS

Having felt restlessness due to the slow pace of implementation of the recommendations of the SCR, some individuals decided to take the legal path. Noor Mohammad, a social worker from Raichur, Karnataka filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court. It was filed on 27 August 2012 and had been accepted for hearing on 30 October 2012. Noor Mohammed is the first social activist in the country who knocked on the doors of the Supreme Court demanding implementation of the recommendations of the SCR. A social media post said, 'We salute Noor Mohammed for his positive steps and thousands of hands will join to fight for this cause.'<sup>47</sup>

The number of petitions filed for having the recommendations of RMC implemented has always been more than that of the SCR. These have been filed in the Supreme Court to amend the Presidential Order of 1950 and grant SC status to the Dalits among Muslim and Christian communities. Akhil Maharashtra Muslim Khatik Samaj filed a petition in the Supreme Court and pleaded that there were Dalits within the Muslim community who needed reservation and demanded inclusion in the SC list. The Centre for Public Interest Litigation (CPIL) filed a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) seeking amendment to the said Order of 1950. A number of other Muslim and Christian organizations have filed petition for this purpose. In spite of consent of majority of the states, the UPA government did not file its reply.<sup>48</sup>

## DEMOCRATIC METHODS

These two reports sent 'shock waves' within the Muslim community. Having got 'official seal' of their socio-economic backwardness, Muslims decided to get these reports implemented by using democratic methods. Memorandums were submitted; rallies, demonstrations, agitations, etc., were held; community members courted arrest and various committees and NGOs were formed. Now after eleven years, the initial energy, enthusiasm and motivation have died down. It may be due to change of guard at the centre.

Muslims have been found the least aggressive in agitations, de-

monstrations, etc. They continue to use democratic, political and legal means to address their problems. In an article, the late Syed Sahabuddin says, 'Committed as they are to democracy, they use the traditional methods, organize seminars and symposia, held meetings and conferences, draft memoranda and submit to the government, meet the ministers and wait on Prime Minister or Chief Ministers to draw their attention but nothing happens'.<sup>49</sup> Some of these efforts which are neither exhaustive nor in chronological order and found in media or on internet are produced here.

Muslim MPs cutting across party lines met the then HRD Minister Late Arjun Singh on 20 December 2006 and demanded IITs and IIMs exclusively for Muslims, 5,000 schools, 2 lakh scholarships in higher education, 4 off-campus centres each of AMU and Maulana Azad National Urdu University, 2,000 Kendriya Vidyalayas exclusively for Muslims, etc. On 22 May 2010, a delegation of leaders of prominent Muslim organizations along with social activist Swami Agnivesh and movie director Mahesh Bhatt and led by Maulana Qari Mohammed Usman met the then PM Dr. Manmohan Singh and Congress President Sonia Gandhi and pressed the demand for Muslim reservation and the passage of the Communal Violence Bill. On 28 December 2012, the Central Working Committee (Majlis-e-Amla) of the All India Muslim Majlis-e-Mushawarat (AIMMM) passed several resolutions including one which reminded the centre to implement the RMCR. It demanded inclusion of Muslim and Christian Dalits in the SC list and termed the Presidential Order of 1950 as a fraud on the Constitution of India. On 15 March 2010, thousands of people and activists of dozens of Muslim organizations agitated at Jantar Mantar and took out rallies for reservation for Muslims and implementation of both the reports. On 7 March 2007, more than 5,000 activists of Tamil Nadu Muslim Munnetra Kazagham (TMMK) marched to the Parliament and demanded the same. On 4 July 2010, Tamil Nadu Tawheed Jamaat (TNTJ) held a grand rally in Chennai and demanded 10 per cent reservation for Muslims in employment and admission. On 11 December 2011, the TNTJ stressed for the same. They pointed out that the Congress-led UPA government had failed to implement the recommendations of the two reports.



On 14 February 2012, it organized protest demonstrations in all district headquarters across Tamil Nadu (TN) demanding 10 per cent reservation for Muslims in the centre and 7 per cent in TN. On 3 May 2010, the Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind (JUH) in Kolkata organized a massive rally and demanded 20 per cent reservation for Muslims in WB. The Jamiat also started its Jail Bharo Andolan Campaign for implementation of the recommendations of the RMC. On the eve of Assembly Election in WB (2011), youths and students demanded full implementation of the recommendations of the RMC from the government which would follow. On 1 December 2007, Movement for Peace and Justice (MPJ), Maharashtra staged a one-day hunger strike to protest against the union government's failure in implementing the recommendations of the Sachar Committee even after the passage of one full year. Members of Muslim Representative Council, Jamaat-e-Islami Hind (JIH), Maulana Azad Vichar Manch, Bahujan Kranti Dal, etc., also participated in the protest in Aurangabad. MPJ held protests in 18 districts of Maharashtra and handed over a Memorandum of demands to the district collectors to implement the two reports. On 17 November 2011, exactly on the completion of five years of the SCR, several Muslim organizations including MPJ, Welfare Party of India (WPI), JIH, Milli Council, etc., organized a protest and sit-in in Mumbai and demanded implementation of the SCR. They said that as far as implementation of the SCR was concerned, the Congress was afraid of the 'Majority Vote Bank'. They also demanded JPC monitoring to ensure effective implementation of the SCR and RMCR recommendations.

The Popular Front of India (PFI) organized a 'National Campaign for Social Justice' under which rallies and conferences were organized in many cities in India. It culminated into a rally on 27 November 2011 in New Delhi to mark the conclusion of the campaign. Several prominent political and religious leaders shared the dais and said that there should be no reason to delay the implementation of the two reports. They said, 'The present regime is not willing to give Muslims their due share'. Mulayam Singh said, 'If Muslims are united and awakened, the government will be forced to accept their demands'.

On 7 May 2008, All India Jamiatul Quresh led by Sirajuddin Qureshi met the then Home Minister Shivraj Patil and demanded implementation of the Sachar Committee provisions related to the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA). In May 2007, the Association of Indian Muslims of America (AIMA) protested against low level implementation of the SCR. They said, 'We the Indian-American Muslims in the USA strongly protest against this unfair attitude of the Indian government in refusing to implement the meaningful recommendations of its own Sachar Committee for the badly needed uplift of the Muslim community, the single most impoverished community in India'. They appealed to then PM and the President of India to make special efforts to implement those recommendations in full at the earliest. In December 2011, All India United Muslim Morcha held a Dalit-Muslim Reservation Convention in Lucknow to discuss the issue of reservation for Muslims. Digvijay Singh, Dr. M.A. Siddique, Teesta Setalvad and a large number of people participated in the convention and demanded the PM to implement the reports and give reservation to Dalit Muslims. In March 2013, Muslim Reservation Federation (MRF) of Malegaon held a rally in Malegaon and demanded reservation for Muslims as recommended by the RMC. On 17 May 2013, hundreds of MRF members and supporters set off on a 300 km long foot march from Malegaon to Mumbai. Citing the Muslims' backwardness from the SCR, MRF's founder and convenor, Aasif Rasheed Shaikh demanded implementation of the RMCR. On 22 November 2007, Pasha Patel, the then Member of Legislative Council (MLC) from Latur in Marathwada held a big rally in Nagpur during the State Assembly Session. More than 50,000 people from all over the state attended the rally. Although at the rally the prominent BJP leaders played safe on the issue, yet he demanded full and immediate implementation of the Sachar Committee recommendations. He had formed Nyayadhish Rajinder Sachar Sangharsh Samiti (Justice Rajinder Sachar Struggle Committee) and organized a massive mobilization campaign among people in favour of implementation. On 24 July 2012, members of the Bharatiya Muslim Mahila Andolan (BMMA) offered prayers and flowers at various *dargahs* in Khurda, Bhadrak and Cuttack

districts to seek divine intervention to stir the government into action to implement the SCR. On 2 August 2012, members of the BMMA from Mumbai, Ahmedabad, Kolkata, Bhopal, Jaipur and New Delhi offered *chadar* and flowers at different *dargahs* and prayed for the same. In December 2012, Samajwadi Party (SP) of Maharashtra led by MLA Abu Asim Azmi held an agitation rally in Nagpur during the Assembly session to press the demand to implement the SCR. They also demanded the government to come out with a white paper explaining the government action since November 2006. On 26 November 2011, the Indian Union Muslim League (IUML) placed deep sense of resentment over the lukewarm attitude on the part of the government by keeping the two reports in abeyance without taking any action and urged the government to take an early decision for implementation of the reports. On 26 November 2011, the All India Ulema & Mashaikh Board (AIUMB) held a massive gathering at Bareilly and demanded the central government to sincerely implement the SCR and also reservation in the light of the RMCR. On 6 May 2012, in Jaipur, All India Muslim Educational Society passed a 13-point resolution which demanded the same.

#### PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES ON REPORTS

Immediately after submission, the SCR was tabled in the Parliament on 30 November 2006. On 31 August 2007, a *suo moto* follow-up action on the recommendations of the Sachar Committee was placed in the Parliament by the then central government. Despite all round demands, no discussion was held on the report. The follow-up action did not contain any major new policies, time-bound targets or clear-cut financial allocation. Most of the recommendation of the Sachar Committee were ignored.<sup>50</sup> Even after more than eleven years of the SCR, a meaningful and open debate on it has not taken place in the Parliament.

The final report of the RMC was submitted to the government in May 2007. It was not tabled in the parliament until it got leaked to the media. On 8 December 2009, JD(U) and left mem-

bers agitated in the Rajya Sabha demanding that the Chair direct the government to make public the report which, they said, was freely available under the RTI Act. Then Deputy Chairman, K. Rahman Khan said that he could not direct the government in that regard and hoped the government would have taken note of the feelings of the members.<sup>51</sup> The report was finally tabled in the Lok Sabha on 18 December 2009. Although the MPs have been raising the issue to debate the report, yet the government has not shown much interest to discuss and debate it.

At a national level seminar on 4 December 2010, K. Rahman Khan said, 'It is a matter of concern that though the reports were tabled in the House after some delay, there has been no debate in the House over them'.<sup>52</sup> He also said, 'We should debate over the matter and arrive at a workable result'. He stressed that it was high time that there was a Parliamentary debate on the findings and recommendations of the two reports. On 15 March 2011, he registered his active participation in the discussion on 'Performance of Minority Affairs Ministry'. He spoke loudly and questioned the ministry's performance and success rate of its mega welfare schemes like scholarships and MSDP. He advocated Muslim reservation but within the limit of the Indian Constitution. He criticized the union government for not fully and honestly implementing the Sachar Committee recommendations.<sup>53</sup>

After eleven years, the people have not seen an occasion when the government came up with these two reports and requested the Parliament to have a discussion on them. Whenever some discussion took place, it was in reference to either the performance of the MMA or minority schemes or other issues related to the welfare of minorities. Leaders of political parties which have significant support in the Muslim community like Sharad Yadav, Lalu Prasad Yadav, Ram Vilas Paswan and Mulayam Singh Yadav have always been in the forefront to demand the government to discuss these two reports in the Parliament and to implement the major recommendations. On 24 March 2011, Mulayam Singh demanded political reservation for Muslims and implementation of the RMCR.<sup>54</sup> On 18 December 2012, he said that the government used to con-

stitute committees and commissions but it did not take major steps to improve the condition of Muslims. He demanded reservation for Muslims and implementation of these two reports.<sup>55</sup>

In State Assemblies of few states, MLAs have been demanding the implementation of these two reports. Bihar, UP, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Karnataka, AP, TN, etc., are prominent among them. On 18 December 2012, Abu Asim Azmi of SP raised the issue in the Maharashtra Assembly and demanded implementation of the major recommendations of the Sachar Committee.<sup>56</sup>

#### UPA-II AND MUSLIMS

Indian Muslims will continue to remember the UPA-I tenure as 'the period of honest effort' for their socio-economic progress and general empowerment. It was that tenure during which the Sachar Committee (2005) and the RMC (2004) were constituted to investigate the socio-economic condition of Muslims. Muslims thought that UPA-II would deliver more results and implement major recommendations. That was not to be.

Addressing the first joint session of the 15th Lok Sabha in 2009, then President Mrs. Pratibha Patil said, 'My government will continue to accord the highest priority to the welfare of minorities'. Agenda of the government for welfare of minorities was set in that address. She said that communal harmony would be preserved by protecting the secular fabric of the country and the government would seek early approval of the Prevention of Communal Violence Bill. She also said that the action taken on the recommendations of the Sachar Committee had yielded results in ensuring equitable share for minorities. The steps underway would be consolidated further. Government would strive to modernize and strengthen the administration of Waqf and would set up an EOC.<sup>57</sup>

After becoming the minority minister in 2012, K. Rahman Khan said, 'My priority will be to fulfil all promises made by the UPA for minorities in the election manifesto in letter and spirit and see that Sachar Committee is implemented'.<sup>58</sup>

Activists and scholars have been consistently arguing that UPA-II had forgot its promises as those two reports were not on its priority list. It had been ignoring the implementation of the ma-

for recommendations of these two reports despite systematic and repeated reminders given by the community and intellectuals through media, seminars, conferences, presentations, memoranda and meeting with ministers. Dr. Syed Zafar Mahmood, in an article, said that the period between July and December 2013 was 'the last window of opportunity' for UPA-II to pick up the threads and get those implemented through intense follow up.<sup>59</sup>

On 31 August 2013, a host of Muslim organizations including Millat Bedari Muhim Committee, Forum for Muslim Studies and Analysis (FMSA) and the Aligarh Movement jointly organized a national seminar on 'UPA-II & Muslim Expectations' in New Delhi. The keynote address was delivered by the noted film director Mahesh Bhatt. The speakers reminded the government of its unfulfilled promises and expectations of the community.<sup>60</sup>

On third anniversary of UPA-II, eminent columnist Late Praful Bidwai wrote, 'Yet another UPA-II failure lies in its inaction over the Sachar Committee report on the status of Muslims and the poor design and implementation of programmes for districts in which the religious minorities are numerically important'.<sup>61</sup> The UPA-II began on a note of hope that it would start correction measures on the basis of major findings of the Sachar Committee. But major recommendations were not implemented. Dr. Mohammad Manzoor Alam says, 'The UPA has a policy record of both achievements and failures as far as common Indians are concerned, but for Muslims these years have been pretty difficult'.<sup>62</sup>

To strengthen and renew its appeal to Muslims, the Congress decided to initiate some initiatives to ensure the community's speedy social upliftment. Those initiatives were being considered one year before the general election of 2014 and few month before the state election in five states. Two government officials (on anonymity) said that in a meeting held on 10 June 2013, the MHRD and MMA had jointly decided:

1. To launch 9 Rehman-100 coaching centres, a dedicated chain of residential coaching centres modelled after the Super-30, one each in nine Muslim concentrated states, to provide coaching to poor talented students for IIT, IIM and Civil Services.

2. To reserve a portion of the seats for Muslims in the planned model schools and vocational institutes.
3. To grant full-fledged university status to centres of AMU in Bihar, WB and Kerala.
4. To declare districts, which had minimum 15 per cent minority population as MCD.
5. To launch 'Nai Roshani' to develop leadership skills among Muslim women.

An anonymous viewer commented on this as, 'It is an "election-eering propaganda of the Congress". Congress "work in progress" never progresses.'<sup>63</sup>

To review the progress of GoI's flagship programmes/initiatives/iconic projects, a Delivery Monitoring Unit (DMU) had been set up in the PM's office in 2012. The task of the DMU was to ensure time-bound and effective delivery of the flagship programmes by the concerned ministry. Ministries/departments had been directed to place the status of implementation on their respective website. The PMO had identified 25 flagship programmes including the MSDP. Other major recommendations of the Sachar Committee and RMC did not figure in the list.<sup>64</sup>

After regime change, the community leaders and activists concluded that the UPA-II had not come up to Muslims' expectations. It had not tried to touch even fringe of the major recommendations of the Sachar Committee and the RMC.

#### REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION

Then UPA-II, in February 2013, proposed to constitute a High Power Committee (HPC) to review the implementation of the Sachar Committee recommendations and PM's 15-PP. The probable reasons behind the move would have been:

1. Many delegations of Muslims had met then PM Dr. Manmohan Singh, Sonia Gandhi and Rahul Gandhi to bring in their notice the ineffective implementation of the reports.
2. Harsh Mander's report terming the MSDP as 'blunt and ineffective'.

3. Abusaleh Shariff report revealing no perceptible improvement in the status of Muslims.
4. Perception in the community that the government was avoiding to discuss and implement the major recommendations of the Sachar Committee and the RMC.
5. Muslim leaders brought into the government notice that instead of moving forward, the community was going backward.
6. Through RTI information, activists had proved the ineffective implementation and government's reluctance to touch the major recommendations of the two reports.<sup>65</sup>

The committee was notified on 5 August 2013 (vide Notification No. 9-2/2013-PPI, GoI, MMA, dated 5 August 2013). The notification constituted a 10-member committee, headed by Professor Amitabh Kundu of Centre for Study of Regional Development, JNU, New Delhi. Its terms of reference were as follows:

1. Evaluate the process of implementation of decision of the government on recommendations of the Sachar Committee 'for institutional reforms and programmatic shifts'.
2. Assess the programmes initiated and executed by the MMA and other ministries.
3. Assess the efficacy of the PM's new 15-point programme.
4. Evaluate the outcome indicators in the areas of focus as discussed in the SCR, based on latest secondary data.
5. Recommend interventions and corrective measures to be launched at the level of policies, programmes and schemes.<sup>66</sup>

Although the mandate of the committee did not include the RMCR, it was expected that it would review the implementation of the major recommendations of the RMC as well. The committee which is also known as the Post-Sachar Evaluation Committee (PSEC), was notified after six months of its announcement by the government. It was not allocated sufficient funds and started facing financial constraints from the beginning. Members of the panel were asked to spend their own money. The absence of fund had its first casualty as the committee postponed its meeting scheduled on 3 October 2013.<sup>67</sup> Its functioning was marred by long delays



and financial constraints. The PSEC submitted its preliminary report in March 2014 and final report on 9 October 2014. As per the Modi government, even after three years of submission of the PSEC, the report has neither been 'accepted' nor 'rejected' but 'under consideration'.

Following in the centre's footsteps, Azam Khan, then Minority Welfare Minister of UP also constituted a committee to study the status of implementation of Sachar Committee recommendations in UP. The committee had been tasked to prepare a status report on the implementation of those recommendations for which the state was responsible. For those recommendations where no action had been taken, the report would be sent to the department/ministry with a guideline to expedite the implementation process.<sup>68</sup>

#### THIS BOOK

Independent and impartial review is always welcome. It critically examines the provisions made by the government, level of fulfilment and unfulfilled promises. This book attempts to gauge the level of denial and deprivation faced by Indian Muslims by presenting the current condition of Muslims with respect to various outcome indicators after eleven years of the two reports. It is written with the sole purpose of reviewing the implementation process of recommendations of the Sachar Committee and the RMC. The stand of various political parties, attempt of the UPA governments and attitude of the current regime is critically discussed. In the post-Sachar era, the central government and states/UTs started many schemes/programmes to improve the condition of Muslims. The reach of these programmes and their impact is assessed with the help of latest data/reports. Lastly a roadmap on what needs to be done has been emphatically suggested here, in the light of latest reports, community's demand and intellectual observations.

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## Two Reports

### REASONS OF BACKWARDNESS OF MUSLIMS

The causes which led to the present state of Muslims, can be located in history books and reports on socio-economic condition of Muslims published before and after Independence. Understanding these causes is not only a matter of academic enquiry, it is also necessary for formulating corrective measures that need to be taken at three levels – individual, community and the state.

After the advent of Muslims in India – in the form of Arab merchants in the south and central Asian Turkish invaders in northern India, certain castes and outcastes – the Untouchables or the Atishudras – embraced Islam. This was done to escape the tyranny of the most discriminative and exploitative *varna* (caste) system of the *varnashram dharm*. The Muslim society as it evolved during the medieval and early modern era (AD 1200-1800) fell into four broad categories: (1) The aristocracy and nobility, (2) The artisans, (3) The cultivators, and (4) The people involved in unclean activities or *Arzals* (Muslim Dalits). Excluding aristocracy and nobility, the condition of Muslim cultivators, peasants, artisans and *Arzals* did not change much. They remained economically active in farming, fishing, herding, weaving and other manual work. They did not receive any preferential treatment from the Muslim rulers. The nobility, however, continued to receive official patronage.

After the decline of the Mughal empire and fall of Bengal into East India Company's hand, the fortunes of Muslims began to decline. Lord Cornwallis's decision to replace Muslim nobility and making of English the official language by Lord Bentinck in 1835 accelerated the decline of Muslims' fortunes. Muslims were too conservative to learn English. They considered it below their dig-

nity to learn a foreign language. Muslims' presence in government offices became absolutely nil.<sup>1</sup> During the colonial period, the plight of poor Muslims remained unaffected in the absence of official help.

Although the first war of independence or revolt of 1857 was fought by all Indians, it was blamed on Muslims as an anti-British revolt. In the aftermath, the British subjected Muslims to greater repression as they held Muslims responsible for having the bigger role in the revolt. Bahadur Shah's three sons were publicly executed at 'Khooni Darwaaza' in Delhi and he himself was blinded and exiled to Rangoon where he died in 1862. In Awadh alone 1,50,000 people were killed – of which 1,00,000 were civilians. According to an estimate approximately 2,00,000 people were martyred during the revolt, out of which 5,200 were *ulema* (*maulvi*). Edward Timus admitted that in Delhi alone 500 *ulemas* were hanged to death. Tomson, a British army general who fought against the rebellious Indians, had admitted in his memoir, *Rebellion Cleric*, that the real heroes of the 1857 revolt of India against the East India Company were none other than the *maulvis*.<sup>2</sup> The new British rule after 1857 regarded Muslims as a potential threat to their political power as it were the Muslims from whom they had snatched power. The Muslims, naturally, were hostile to the alien rule and showed apathy to the new administration.

From very beginning the colonial rulers adopted a discriminatory policy towards Muslims. Systematic persecution and hostility began. The privileges earlier enjoyed by them were withdrawn and government jobs and trade facilities were denied to them. They also kept themselves away from education as they did not like to accept the new education system to the detriment of the traditional one. To perpetuate their rule, the British adopted the 'divide and rule' policy under which they fabricated history books with wrong facts and tried to instill communal feelings among the two major communities, Hindus and Muslims. All these factors combined together relegated Muslims to a lower cadre in the new social order of the country. Distrusted by the state, divested of lands, deprived of employment, uneducated in modern science and technology through English, Muslims socio-economic condition in the imme-

diate post-Mutiny era was aptly versified by Maulana Altaf Hussain Hali (1837-1914).<sup>3</sup>

*Na ahl-i-hukumat ke hamraz hain ham  
 Na darbarion main sarfaraz hain ham  
 Na ilmon main shayan-i izzat hain ham  
 Na sanat main birfat main mumtaz hain ham  
 Na rakhte hain kuch manzilat naukri main  
 Na hissa hamara hai saudagari main*

[We are not trusted by the government,  
 Nor are we among the prominent courtiers of the ruler  
 Neither are we among the educated elite  
 We have no share in trade or the industry  
 Nor do you find us in the civil services  
 Or in the business.]

In order to check the socio-economic decline of Muslims, Muslim elites decided to come to terms with the British. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98), a civil servant, took upon himself to clear the British mind of the prejudice about Muslims. He wrote a book *Asbaabe-e-Bagawat-e-Hind* and sent 499 copies to the House of Commons, out of 500. He tried to convince the British Law-makers that Muslims were not the only ones responsible for the rebellion. He founded the Aligarh Movement culminating in the formation of Mohammedan-Anglo Oriental College (1877) which later came to be known as Aligarh Muslim University. Still those efforts were restricted more to the *Ashraf* elite and the low caste poor Muslims remained where they had been for centuries.

The majority of Muslims were part of the freedom movement, ignoring the communal appeals of Muslim League. Later the Muslim League, which had been started by landlords and nawabs, also started getting support from a section of educated and elite Muslims. With Partition, a large section of traders, bureaucrats and educated influential Muslims left for Pakistan, while the majority of poor Muslim-cultivators, artisans, peasants, labourers, weavers, etc., remained in India. Although the majority of Muslims preferred to stay in India, yet they were blamed for Partition. The sense of insecurity always kept Muslim preoccupied and they could not con-

centrate on their socio-economic development. At the time of Partition the average condition of Muslims and Dalits was almost similar. While SCs/STs got reservations, Muslims had another fate in store for them. They were blamed for Partition, started being looked down upon as the 'other' and their employment in government jobs became difficult. The discrimination against them became a sort of disincentive for the Muslim youth to go for studies. Then came the days of communal riots. These communal riots started picking up, leading to the increased feeling of insecurity, alienation and socio-economic marginalization. Instead of focusing on socio-economic issues, they started to indulge themselves in identity issues. The Gopal Panel Report (1980) had also observed a certain sense of alienation in the community. It noted two reasons for alienation and backwardness: (1) The upper class Muslims including educated elites, traders, intelligentsia, etc., who could have been the harbingers of the community's modernity, left India after Partition and (2) The Muslims who were left behind were not only impoverished but also victims of violence, ghettoization, etc. The aggressive Ram Temple movement and the accompanying communal violence in most of the major Indian cities left the community gasping for survival.<sup>4</sup> For the first time in the history of India, communal riots spread to rural areas which communalized the entire social space. This led to increased insecurity feeling among Muslims which consequently led to distress sale of rural properties and rural to urban migration. This led to ghettoization and social separation. Prejudices and open discrimination practiced against Muslims by bureaucracy and in private sector has accelerated their socio-economic decline. Now the tag of terrorism! After emergence of many extremist and militant organizations the world over, bomb blasts in many Indian cities and the unfortunate catastrophe of 26/11 in Mumbai, Indian Muslims are projected as the sympathisers of terrorism. Indiscriminate and unchecked arrest of Muslim youths on manufactured and trumped up charges (flouting rules of criminal justice system) has created too much fear among Indian Muslim youths. Biased reporting in media of terrorism incidents and portrayal of youth as *khoonkhar atankwadi* (dreaded terrorist) even on the first day of arrest have terrorized common Indian



Muslim youth pursuing engineering, medical and other professional studies. Acquittal (after many years in jail on fake charges) are not reported by media. Insensitive and completely non-transparent handling of terrorism issues has instilled deep fear in Muslims leading to further decline of their socio-economic and educational condition. Historical and contemporary reasons of Muslim backwardness can be summed up as follows:

1. Replacement of Muslim officials and intelligentsia by Lord Cornwallis (1786-93).
2. Introduction of English as official language, English education (1835) and conservative attitude of Muslims towards it.
3. Systematic persecution and discrimination after the 1857 revolt.
4. Policy of 'divide and rule' and instilling communal feeling in the society.
5. Migration of upper class Muslims, i.e. elite, traders, intelligentsia, etc., to Pakistan after Partition.
6. Blame of Partition and feeling of insecurity leading to alienation.
7. Communal riots, discrimination and subsequent ghettoization.
8. Too much debate on identity issues instead of focusing on socio-economic issues.
9. Absence of state support in the form of reservation, incentives, legal protection, etc.
10. Tag of terrorism and non-transparent handling of terror-related cases and biased reporting of media.

#### REPORTS ON CONDITION OF MUSLIMS

There is no dearth of books, government reports, academic studies and socio-economic surveys on the socio-economic and educational condition of Muslims. Reports published before independence include: (1) William Wilson Hunter's study (1871), (2) Royal Commission (1886), (3) Islington Commission (1912), and (4) Mudiman Commission (1924). Reports published after Independence are: (1) Inder Malhotra's Document (1965), (2) Joseph Lelyveld's

Survey (1968), (3) Gopal Panel Report (1980), (4) Suren Navlakha's Study (1989), (5) The SCR (2006), (6) The RMCR (2007), and (7) The PSEC (2014).

### THE SACHAR COMMITTEE REPORT

The Congress party manifesto for the election of 2004 reads:

The Congress believes in affirmative action for all religious and linguistic minorities. The Congress has provided for reservations for Muslims in Kerala and Karnataka in government employment and education on the grounds that they are socially and educationally backward class. The Congress is committed to adopting this policy for socially and educationally backward sections among Muslims and other religious minorities on a national scale. . . .<sup>5</sup>

It is not a hidden fact that the Muslim community voted overwhelmingly for the Congress in 2004. Sensing their socio-economic backwardness, Manmohan Singh decided with good intention to take some concrete steps for the community. Setting up of the Sachar Committee was the outcome of that 'true intention' and 'concrete step'. On 9 March 2005, he constituted an HLC for preparation of an exhaustive report on social, economic and educational status of the Muslim community of India. The terms of reference of the Committee were: (1) To prepare a report on the social, economic and educational status of the Muslim community of India; (2) To obtain relevant information and data from departments/agencies and also to conduct an intensive literary survey on socio-economic and educational status of Muslims to know demographic profile, economic activity, income level, educational condition, share in government employment, status of OBCs, access to bank and credits, access to social and physical infrastructure and to various schemes/programmes implemented by the government; and (3) To consolidate, collate and analyse the data to identify areas of intervention to address issues of social, economic and educational deprivation.

It was headed by Justice (Retd.) Rajinder Sachar. The other members were Saiyid Hamid, Dr. T.K. Oommen, M.A. Basith, Dr. Rakesh Basant, Dr. Akhtar Majeed and Dr. Abusaleh Shariff

(Member Secretary). Besides, Dr. Syed Zafar Mahmood, had been deputed by the PMO as Officer on Special Duty (OSD) to provide administrative and other specialized support.

The Committee collected data from the public, NGOs, through representations and various departments/ministries of the central and state governments. It also commissioned papers on different subjects to take the help of experts apart from visiting many states and UTs. Overwhelming response was received from the NGOs, community organizations, individuals and activists. State officials and various departments welcomed the committee members during their visits and provided with the required information. However, in some states/departments indifference and hesitation was noticed on many occasions; some states/departments provided information in a wrong format which could not be used. The response from the armed forces were not very positive.

The committee recommended the headcount of Muslims at different levels of the army in all three services. It even received data from the Navy and the Air Force, but could not get data from the Army because the idea of Muslim headcount in the Army was strongly resisted by then Army Chief, General J.J. Singh, who said that any such survey would dent the core of the institution. He even requested the Committee not to publish the data pertaining to the Navy and Air Force. Consequently, the committee did not publish data pertaining to the armed forces. Although then Army Chief had resisted the idea, there were some pressing reasons which supported the move of Muslim headcount.

1. The committee was mandated to map the underrepresentation of Muslims in all segments of public sector employment including all three wings of the armed forces.
2. The purpose was to know if Muslims were under represented in the Army and the reason thereof so that the government could take corrective steps.
3. The practice of headcount is already there in police and paramilitary forces. Experience shows that it has not lowered the morale and discipline in these forces.
4. Since colonial times, the Army has region- or community-based

regiments and battle cries are based on gods and goddesses of different religions.

5. It is not difficult to provide community- or category-wise data as at the time of entry into the Army the candidate has to write name, religion and caste.
6. An Army General refusing to obey the order of the PM's HLC was a serious and worrying trend.

Keeping this in mind Justice Sachar wrote in the Foreword to the report, 'Such an approach (the headcount) is not divisive but is positive, an essential requirement for impartial and caring administration in its commitment for instilling confidence in the fairness of the government's functioning. Without considering such information, the government may not be in a position to take any corrective action, even with the best of intentions.'

Mapping the under-representation and taking corrective measures instills the feeling of confidence in a community. It cannot 'dent the core of the institution'. The hue and cry did not remain confined to the Army only. In January 2006, L.K. Advani, then leader of the opposition in the Lok Sabha, walked out from the house over the idea of Muslim headcount in the Army.<sup>6</sup> In fact, Advani and his party leaders were against the very idea of constituting a committee to know the deprivation faced by the Indian Muslims. But when the report came out, the same Advani took help of the SCR to justify how Narendra Modi had proved a CM who has brought in harmony amongst the communities in Gujarat!<sup>7</sup>

The committee submitted its report on 17 November 2006 and breaking the tradition of keeping such reports in abeyance, the government tabled it in parliament on 30 November 2006 and thus made it public. With the help of the latest data, tables, different diagrams and easy analysis, the committee tried to show the socio-economic denial and deprivation faced by Muslims; produced in depth reasons for the deprivation and also recommended corrective steps. The analysis shows that while there is considerable variation in the conditions of Muslims across the states, 'the community exhibits deficits and deprivation in practically all dimensions of development'. By and large, Muslims rank somewhere

above SCs/STs but below Hindu-General, Hindu-OBCs and other minorities on almost all indicators. Positive aspects (strength) of the report are as follows:

1. It concludes that Muslims are one of the most economically poor, educationally backward and socially disadvantaged communities in India. It is the first ever 'official confirmation' of the socio-economic deprivation of Muslims in India.
2. The findings are a shocking testimony to six decades of institutional neglect that has left Muslims far behind other SRCs in the areas of education, employment, access to credit, access to social and physical infrastructure and political representation.
3. It thoroughly exposes the Sangh Parivar's propaganda of 'Muslim appeasement'.<sup>8</sup>
4. It suggested that the policies to deal with the relative deprivation of Muslims should focus on 'inclusive development' and 'mainstreaming' of the community 'while respecting diversity'.
5. Its recommendations contain the seeds of a major socio-economic transformation which if implemented honestly, they have the capacity to alter the destinies of millions of people who face discrimination because of their socio-religious identity.<sup>9</sup>
6. An EOC and the system of Diversity Index have been recommended as mainstreaming measures.

However, it failed to throw light on the condition of Muslim women. They are under-represented in all fields due to illiteracy and excessive socio-religious controls.<sup>10</sup> The committee was not unanimous on the issue of reservation. Very few members had felt that reservation could be an answer to the community's deprivation. Majority of the members were of the view that reservation would be a red rag which would make more noise than actually help Muslims. Thus it shied away from making recommendation for reservation.<sup>11</sup> The original draft of the SCR contained statistics showing that Muslims were disproportionately high in jail inmates in all states. This crucial data, however, found no mention in the final version of the report. In Maharashtra, Gujarat and Delhi,

Muslims constituted respectively 10.6, 9.0 and 11.7 per cent of the total population. While in jail inmates their share was 32.4, 25 and 29.1 per cent respectively. Fearing further marginalization and reinforcing of stereotypes, these data were excluded from the final version of the report.<sup>12</sup> Barring a few weaknesses, it is a landmark report in the debate on the Muslim question in India.

Justice Rajinder Sachar was the Chief Justice of the Delhi High Court from 6 August 1985 till his retirement on 22 December 1985. After retirement he had been associated with many social causes. In April 2003, he argued before the Supreme Court of India that the Prevention of Terrorist Activities Act (POTA) should be quashed since it violated fundamental rights. POTA was repealed in November 2004. However, all the POTA provisions were incorporated in the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act. In October 2009, Sachar called for abolition of that Act too. He said, 'Terrorism is there, I admit, but in the name of terror probe, many innocent people are taken into custody without registering a charge and are being detained for long period'. He filed a number of PILs in the Supreme Court and has obtained landmark judgements. Some of these cases included Child Trafficking, Telephone Tapping, Clean Elections, and Open Ballot System in the Rajya Sabha polls.<sup>13</sup> Before the Presidential Election in 2012, a group of social activists, lawyers, retired army officers, journalists and filmmakers had come together and issued an appeal to support him for the post of President of India. The Petition stated, 'Justice Sachar in his long record of public service has demonstrated tremendous faith in democratic politics, has been a great judge who stood by the people and championed the cause of civil liberties'.<sup>14</sup>

THE RANGNATH MISHRA  
COMMISSION REPORT

The most important report on the condition of all minorities is by the NCRLM – better known as the Rangnath Mishra Commission (RMC). On 29 October 2004, the Ministry of SJE (Minority Division) issued a notification No. 1-11/2004 – MC(D) to constitute an NCRLM with the following terms of reference:

- (a) To suggest criteria for identification of socially and economically backward sections among religious and linguistic minorities;
- (b) To recommend measures for welfare of these groups, including reservation in education and government employment;
- (c) To suggest the necessary constitutional, legal and administrative modalities, as required for the implementation of these recommendations.
- (d) To give its recommendations on the issues raised in Writ Petition no. 180/2004 and 94/2005 filed in the Supreme Court and certain High Courts relating to Para 3 of the Constitution (SC) Order, 1950, in the context of ceiling of 50 per cent on reservation as also the modalities of inclusion in the list of SCs.

[The mandate mentioned at (d) was not included in the original notification. It was notified by the GoI, Ministry of SJE notification No. 14/6/2005-MC, dated 28 September 2005.]

Though the decision to set up the commission was notified in October 2004, the actual commission was announced by the Ministry of SJE, in a notification dated 15 March 2005.<sup>15</sup> Justice (Retd.) Rangnath Mishra was made the chairperson of the commission. The other members were Prof. Tahir Mahmood, Dr. Anil Wilson and Dr. Mohinder Singh. Smt. Asha Das was made the member secretary whose name had not been included in the government's original notification but was notified by a separate notification dated 10 May 2005.<sup>16</sup>

The commission gathered data from various sources. Letters were written to all states/UTs to seek their views on the issue of SC status to SCs converts to Christianity/Islam. A public notice was also published in the newspaper to seek views of NGOs, organizations and the general public. The commission presented its final report to the Government on 10 May 2007. Unlike the SCR, the RMCR was not tabled in the Parliament after its submission to the government. But later the government was compelled to make it public. On 8 December 2009, after two and a half years of its submission, the Rajya Sabha witnessed uproar as several opposition members made a vociferous demand for tabling of the RMCR. JD(U), RJD, LJP and Left members agitated and demanded the

chair to direct the government to make public the report which, they said, was freely available under RTI. K. Rahman Khan, then in chair, said the government was not duty bound to lay the report of a panel which was not set up under the Commissions of Inquiry Act.<sup>17</sup> The government took note of the feelings of the MPs and tabled the report in the Lok Sabha on 18 December 2009. Its findings and recommendations were:

1. The social, economic and educational status of religious minorities varies from group to group and area to area. Muslims are the most backward among these groups. Muslims are behind other groups in terms of literacy, education, industrial promotion and economic pursuits. They lack technical and vocational education as well as training in trades which are in demand.
2. At least 15 per cent seats in all non-minority educational institutions should be earmarked by law for the minorities – with a break-up of 10 per cent for Muslims (commensurate with their 73 per cent share in the total minority population) and 5 per cent for other minorities.
3. Concession available in terms of lower eligibility and lower fee rate for admission, which is available to SCs/STs should be extended to such sections among minorities.
4. It recommended to earmark 15 per cent share for the minorities – with a breakup of 10 per cent for Muslims and 5 for other minorities – in all government schemes like Rural Employment Generation Programme, Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojna, Grameen Rozgar Yojna, etc.
5. Fifteen per cent of posts in all cadre and grades under the central and state governments should be earmarked for the minorities – with a break-up of 10 per cent for Muslims and 5 per cent for other minorities.
6. If the above recommendation (at no. 5) faces some insurmountable legal difficulty, the commission recommends that an 8.4 per cent sub-quota from the 27 per cent quota for OBCs, should be earmarked for minorities – with an internal break-up of 6 per cent for the Muslim OBCs and 2.4 per cent for OBCs present in other minority groups.



7. The reservation given to STs, which is a religion-neutral class, should be carefully examined to assess the extent of minority presence in it and remedial measures should be initiated to correct the imbalance, if any.
8. Caste is in fact a social phenomenon shared by almost all Indian communities irrespective of their religious persuasions. The constitution prohibits all forms of discrimination between the citizens on the basis of religion. The commission came to the conclusion that caste system should be recognized as a 'general social characteristic' of the Indian society as a whole, without questioning whether the philosophy and teachings of any particular religion recognize it or not. The commission fully accepted the presence of Dalits among Christian and Muslim communities and recommended the deletion of para 3 of the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950 by appropriate action so as to completely de-link the SC status from religion.
9. It claims that the recommendations do not require any constitutional amendment for implementation. They can be implemented by legislative and administrative actions.

Scholars hailed the report as one that has 'bold' recommendations which have the potential to transform the destiny of minorities in India. As far as weakness of the report is concerned, it didn't go into deep to analyse the socio-economic and educational status of backward sections among the religious and linguistic minorities. It performs poor on analysis count. The RMCR will be remembered for its bold recommendations and its chairman and the three members for their courage and egalitarian views.

Justice Rangnath Mishra (1926-2012) was appointed as a judge of the Orissa High Court in 1969 and became its Chief Justice in 1980. He was appointed a judge in the Supreme Court in 1983 and became the CJI in 1990. He was very versatile and never hesitated to appear even before the court of a Tahsildar when he practised in the HC. He was one of the few compassionate judges who genuinely cared for the underprivileged and gave procedural obstacles a go by. He was the chief of the Commission of Inquiry that probed the anti-Sikh riots in 1984. He was appointed the

first chairman of the National Human Rights Commission. When he died in 2012, Naveen Patnaik described him as ‘an eminent jurist and champion of social justice, who stood for secularism and espoused for the welfare of the downtrodden’.<sup>18</sup> His master-stroke was the RMCR which advocated reservation for minorities and deletion of para 3 of the Presidential Order. He would be remembered as an eminent jurist who had been fighting for social justice.

### COMPARISON OF TWO REPORTS

There are several similarities and differences between these two reports (see Table 2.1).

The SCR is a landmark report on the status of the Muslim community in India. Scholars term it a ‘health check-up’ report of the community. On the other hand, the RMCR has made bold and path-breaking recommendations. If these are implemented fully and honestly, it would change the destiny of the minorities, particularly Muslims. It contains the ‘treatment process’. If these two reports are combined and then implemented, it will do wonders to the minorities, particular Muslims. In public discourse, both the reports are cited jointly and when the activists demand implementation, they mean both the reports.

### SACHAR REPLICA FOR TRIBALS

The setting up of the Sachar Committee had been a successful experiment for the central government. It not only benefited the Muslims in terms of bringing out their actual socio-economic status in the public domain, it benefited the government as well in consolidating the Muslim votes in favour of the Congress party. UPA-II had decided to replicate it for the tribals and set up a Sachar-type HLC to investigate the socio-economic status of tribals in India. The seven-member committee was to be headed by Virginius Xaxa, then deputy director of TISS at Guwahati and later NAC member. The Committee’s mandate and conditions were almost identical to those of the Sachar Committee.<sup>19</sup>

By constituting this, the Congress was aiming to target the tribal

TABLE 2.1: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF  
THE TWO REPORTS

Subject	SCR	RMCR
Date of notification	9 March 2005	29 October 2004 & 15 March 2005
Terms of reference	To study and prepare a report on the status of the Muslim community of India.	As mentioned in the previous section.
Status	PM's HLC	Commission
Ministry concerned	Prime Minister's Office	Ministry of SJE
Chairperson	Justice Rajinder Sachar	Justice Rangnath Mishra
Member Secretary	Dr Abusaleh Shariff	Smt Asha Das
Total Members	7	5
Submission of Report	17 November 2006	10 May 2007
Date of making public	30 November 2006	18 December 2009
Main findings/ recommendations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Muslims rank somewhat above SCs/STs but below all other SRCs.</li> <li>• Community exhibits deficits and deprivation in all dimensions of development.</li> <li>• Inclusive development and mainstreaming of the community while respecting diversity.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 15 per cent reservation for all minorities in job and education, 10 per cent for Muslims and 5 per cent for other minorities. Or</li> <li>• 8.4 per cent sub-quota for OBCs of minorities from 27 per cent quota given to all OBCs.</li> <li>• The Constitution (SC) Order, 1950 should be made religion-neutral.</li> </ul>
Strength	In-depth analysis and suggesting mainstreaming measures.	Prescribing reservation and deletion of the (SC) Order of 1950.
Weaknesses	Did not recommend reservation.	No in-depth analysis of the target group.

votes alongside its effort to consolidate the Muslim constituency. We should not be surprised if the government replicates these two reports in future for the welfare of other SRCs. New government at the centre and many in the states may copy this policy and constitute similar committee/commission for other groups.

## NOTES

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## Reaction to the Reports

### REACTION: AN INTEGRAL PART OF HUMAN BEHAVIOUR

First experiencing an incident and then expressing emotion/reaction are integral part of human behaviour. Reactions can be categorized as negative, highly negative, positive, highly positive, indifferent, mysterious, confusing, etc. Reactions can be analysed to facilitate information gathering and their usefulness in solving practical problems and developing broad policies. The whole process can be done in the following sequence: (a) To observe and review the event; (b) to collect fact about the event; (c) collect all reactions; (d) evaluation of reactions; and (e) use them to lay principles/policies to solve problems.<sup>1</sup>

### REACTIONS TO THE REPORTS

In this chapter, the event refers to the submission and making public of the SCR and RMCR. After appearance in the public domain, these reports began to receive reactions from all directions. Mainstream political parties, small parties, social and cultural organizations, civil society groups (CSG), intellectuals, experts on socio-economic issues, Muslim-based parties and organizations, etc., have been giving reactions on feasibility of the recommendations of these reports. These reactions have been closely monitored and followed up through news gathered from various sources, e.g. newspaper, articles written by experts, internet, government reports/documents, debates in State Assemblies and the Parliament, websites, etc. Reactions expressed on different occasions have been gathered and analysed to place them in a proper sequence to generate a coherent

view and to invoke positive response from all political parties and CSGs to ensure implementation of these reports.

The list of parties/organizations and their views are not exhaustive. There may be some other organizations which do not figure here. At the same time all the reactions might not have been covered here. But It can be said with certainty that these reactions are sufficient to construct a general conclusion about the stand of the parties on these reports.

### THE CONGRESS PARTY

It takes political courage to give justice to socially and economically deprived communities. On 22 October 2004, Dr. Abusaleh Shariff in an article titled 'On the Margins: Muslims in a State of Socio-Economic Decline', had described the backward state of Muslims by citing figures from Census 2001 and demanded from the UPA government to bring out a white paper on the status of Muslims in India and to link its efforts with internationally recognized welfare objectives such as those articulated in the UN's Millennium Development Goals declaration.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Manmohan Singh who was PM at that time read the article and learnt the plight of Muslims. He immediately called upon Dr. Shariff and discussed the whole matter. Experts claim that that discussion laid the genesis of the Sachar Committee. Manmohan Singh took personal effort to notify the committee and he had it notified from PMO as HLC. He left no stone unturned to get the report prepared and make it public. Even before the SCR, he had created the MMA (26 January 2006) as a nodal agency for the welfare and development of the minorities and started the PM's new 15-PP (June 2006). On 11 December 2006, at the meeting of the National Development Council, he said that the minorities, particularly Muslims, had the 'first claim' on the resources of the country.<sup>3</sup> Due to his effort the approach paper of the 11th FYP emphasized on the need to promote education among poor Muslims who had fallen far behind the national average in all aspects.

Mrs Pratibha Patil, then president, said during the joint session of the 15th Lok Sabha that her government would accord highest

priority to the welfare of minorities and seek early approval of the Communal Violence Bill. She promised the implementation of the recommendations of the Sachar Committee and said, 'Government would strive to strengthen and modernize the administration of Wakfs, reform the management of Haj and set up an EOC'.<sup>4</sup> In 2007, Pranab Mukherjee, then External Affairs Minister, said that the Sachar Committee was appointed with the belief that the country's all-round development would be possible only if all sections of the people, including minorities, felt that they had a role in nation-building. Countering the appeasement charge he said, 'We have to remember that minorities have equal rights in this country as people belonging to the majority community'.

Sonia Gandhi guided the Congress-led UPA government effectively and had given appropriate direction to it at all time. Equal credit goes to her in constituting the Sachar Committee and defending its findings. She had always given positive indication to implement the vital recommendations. The National Advisory Council (NAC) in December 2011, had asked the government to focus on welfare of minorities in the 12th FYP (2012-17). Citing the SCR, the NAC noted that the largest minority suffered from socio-economic deprivation and gross inequality and it suggested implementation of the vital recommendations of the Sachar Committee and mandating social audit of the MSDPs and the PM's new 15-PP. On many occasions, she had promised that the Congress would implement the SCR recommendations.

In December 2009, several members in the Rajya Sabha demanded the tabling of the RMCR. K. Rahman Khan, then deputy chairman of the Rajya Sabha, indirectly supported it by saying the government must take note of the feelings of the members.<sup>5</sup> He demanded a parliamentary debate on the findings of the SCR and its implementation and also of the RMCR.

A.R. Antulay, the first minority minister, announced on 3 December 2006 that the government would bring out an Action Taken Report (ATR) on the Sachar Committee recommendations. He also promised to incorporate in it, the public opinion on the committee findings. He promised implementation of the recommen-

dations *in toto* in 2007. He said, 'We will not only implement the recommendations of the Sachar Committee but also its observations'. On 31 August 2007, he presented an ATR in the Lok Sabha.<sup>6</sup> Salman Khurshid as the second minister had been positive but less enthusiastic towards these reports. On several occasions he promised to implement the recommendations of the SCR, but he failed to deliver on many counts. When the Wakf (Amendment) Bill, 2010 was passed in the Lok Sabha, several important recommendations of the Sachar Committee and the Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) were not included in it. The NGOs and activists led by the Maharashtra Wakf Bachao Committee, expressed deep displeasure over this. They alleged that Salman Khurshid had either ignored those vital recommendations or was unaware of the shortcomings in the Bill.<sup>7</sup> On 25 June 2011, at a lecture in Chennai he said, 'The recommendations of SCR are not divine like (the) Quran; they can be wrong also and that is why one must approach them critically'. His words drew criticism from many quarters and set off a raging debate. Abusaleh Shariff wrote an open letter in which he criticized Khurshid for his comments. He wrote,

The minister has a lot to answer as to how he will eliminate large deficits in achievement levels which Muslims have encountered during the last 60 years or so. This has occurred mostly due to discriminatory practices followed by successive governments including Congress governments both at the Centre and the many states. . . .<sup>8</sup>

Community activists felt something suspicious about it and agreed that Khurshid's comment was not a spontaneous statement rather it was a deliberate act of a larger conspiracy. Zaka-ur Rahman, a columnist in *Inquilab*, wrote that it was an act of sprinkling salt on Muslims' wound. The central governments 'inner motive' was to scrap those reports and Khurshid's comment was giving indication of that 'larger conspiracy'.<sup>9</sup> K. Rahman Khan as minority minister, resolved, 'My priority will be to fulfil all the promises made by UPA for minorities in the election manifesto in letter and spirit and see that Sachar Committee is implemented'. He regretted that a few states were not keen in implementation of the Sachar Com-



mittee recommendations and advised the people to use RTI to exert pressure on such governments to utilize central funds meant for minorities.

Records show that Rahul Gandhi has not given his reaction to the SCR or to its implementation. He had called a meeting of Muslim leaders and intellectuals to involve them in drafting of the party manifesto for the 2014 general elections. The community leaders warned him against indulging in empty promises and urged him to deliver by implementing vital findings of those reports. They said, 'In the run up to the elections, Mr. Gandhi, you have to create that urge and enthusiasm and thus earn the Muslim vote, but please don't bank merely on promises'.<sup>10</sup>

In response to the reports, former CM Vilasrao Deshmukh had promised that Maharashtra would implement all recommendations of the SCR and created an independent Minority Development Department. He also said that proper thought would be given to provide reservation to Muslims after understanding related aspects from the Minority Commission. For this purpose he constituted the Mehmood-ur-Rahman Committee (MRC) to study the condition of Muslims in the state. In Karnataka, Congress manifesto for the Assembly election 2013 promised implementation of the recommendations made in the SCR and the RMCR. Syed Zameer Pasha, a former IAS officer said, 'We in our Karnataka election manifesto have committed that Sachar Committee and RMC recommendations will be implemented in full spirit.' He also promised that if voted to power his party would bring a special component for the Muslim community in the lines of the budget for SCs. Releasing the election manifesto titled 'Blueprint of Gujarat's future 2012-17' in 2012, then Gujarat Congress president Arjun Modhwadia said that his party would implement Sachar Committee recommendations if voted to power in the state. Y.S.R. Rajsekhar Reddy, then CM of AP promised that his government would implement important findings of the SCR and it would construct 36 hostels, besides the existing 12 for Muslim boys and girls. He assured 100 per cent coverage of all Muslim students in pre- and post-matric scholarships. Next CM, Kiran Reddy had also promised the same on many occasions. In response to Shivraj

Singh Chauhan announcement in the State Assembly that his government would not implement the recommendations of the SCR, the minority wing of the MPCC led by Arif Masood staged a sit-in against him. He alleged that the government was discriminating towards the minorities and they demanded the implementation of the main findings of the SCR.<sup>11</sup> In the wake of the UP state election in 2012, in October 2011, Salman Khurshid promised reservation as per proportion in population for Muslims. Contrary to his promise, the union cabinet gave 4.5 per cent sub-quota within the existing quota for OBCs. Some writers questioned the move and said, after being in government at the centre for over 52 years since Independence (and 42 years in UP), why were Muslims poorer and more backward than even SCs/STs, on most parameters? They questioned the tokenism of the Congress party.<sup>12</sup>

Several Congress leaders had promised that the UPA government was committed to implement the recommendations of the SCR. However, Mohammad Azharuddin, then MP from Moradabad, had admitted that recommendations of the SCR and the RMCR were yet to be implemented and if they had been implemented completely and honestly, the Congress would again have gained the confidence of Muslims.<sup>13</sup> Aasif Rasheed Shaikh, a Congress MLA in Maharashtra, said that most of the schemes announced for minorities either lacked in practical implementation or they did not suit the community. But they were publicized in such a manner that the BJP used to get an opportunity to use them as a tool to polarize votes in its favour and against the Congress.<sup>14</sup>

Muslims came to know through various study reports that governments' response to the implementation had been poor and those schemes had failed to reach the intended beneficiaries. Muslim leaders complained and demanded review of those schemes and their impact in improving the socio-economic condition of Muslims. Finally, the MMA notified a committee to evaluate the process of implementation of the recommendation of the SCR and efficacy of the 15-point programme.<sup>15</sup>

In short, the Congress-led UPA constituted the Sachar Committee and the RMC to fulfil the promises made in the election manifesto of 2004, it presented the SCR in the Parliament with-

out any delay, but knowingly delayed the presentation of the RMCR. Congress party and its leaders have given positive response to the recommendations and promised to implement the same. However, results show that the party shied away from effective implementation. It adopted tokenism and the scale of government intervention was small. Although it implemented some minor recommendations of the SCR, it failed to touch major recommendations and have also not touched any of the provisions of the RMCR.

#### BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY (BJP)

BJP adopted an unwritten policy, from the very beginning, to oppose the Sachar Committee at all stages. On Muslims headcount in different levels of the army, the NDA accused the UPA of 'dividing' the armed forces through a 'communal' exercise. Rajnath Singh, then BJP president said, 'I was both shocked and outraged when I read a report that the centre has ordered a count of Muslims in the three wings of the armed forces'. L.K. Advani, then leader of opposition, walked out from the Parliament over the issue.<sup>16</sup> Advani termed the issue of Muslim headcount a step which was 'fraught with dangerous consequences'. Consequently the party asked the then five BJP-ruled states, Gujarat, Rajasthan, MP, Chhattisgarh and Jharkhand not to provide data on Muslim headcount in the government, state-run PSUs and corporations to the committee.<sup>17</sup> When the SCR was submitted, BJP attacked the government and expressed apprehension that the report might be utilized as a launching pad for religion-based reservation in India. The party said that it would oppose the move 'tooth-and-nail'. The party also anticipated that the Congress might well use the report to initiate a major political outreach to Muslims who had drifted away from the ruling party's fold.<sup>18</sup>

An NSSO report of March 2007 showed that Christians had the highest unemployment and marginal difference between Hindus and Muslims in terms of joblessness. The BJP said that the SCR had been manipulated for electoral reasons and that the NSSO report vindicated its stand.<sup>19</sup> In May 2007, then union cabinet gave green signal to set up four committees to examine the propos-

als of an EOC, a National Data Bank, educational and skill development and identification of 90 MCDs. The BJP criticized the proposal and claimed that the move was fraught with dangerous implications for the country's unity and integrity. Then BJP spokesperson Prakash Javadekar said, 'The decision of the UPA to identify Muslim-majority 90 districts across the country is an unfortunate development'.<sup>20</sup> Then BJP president Rajnath Singh had announced a committee under M. Venkaiah Naidu, now the vice-president, to launch a nationwide agitation to mobilize opinion against the implementation of the SCR. Referring to the ATR on the SCR, he said, 'We are now moving towards communal-based development expenditure and communal budgeting'. He also claimed that the panels' recommendations were discriminatory and the BJP would vehemently oppose them.<sup>21</sup>

L.K. Advani, while releasing *Sachar Committee Report: Conspiracy to Divide the Nation*, published by Bharatiya Vichar Manch (BVM) in September 2008, said that the report was being used by the Congress to woo Muslims. He accused, 'The guiding principle of the Sachar Committee was to show that Muslims in India are victims of discrimination and injustice, which is not true'. He appealed to the Muslims to see through the inadequacies of the Sachar Committee and prevent Congress from using them only as vote bank.<sup>22</sup> The president of BJP's SC Morcha at that time Sanjay Paswan demanded the rejection of the SCR and RMC recommendations.<sup>23</sup>

In 2011, Shivraj Singh Chauhan announced in the Assembly that his government would not implement the SCR. He also claimed that such reports created discrimination in the society and he would implement only those schemes and reports which were for the benefit of all people.<sup>24</sup> When the Karnataka Congress government in the state decided to implement some provisions of the SCR and RMCR, the BJP strongly opposed it. D.V. Sadanand Gowda dubbed the decision as a 'move to fuel communal hatred'.<sup>25</sup> The UPA-I formulated pre-matric scholarship for minority students in 2008 as part of the PM's 15-PP and decided to implement it in all states. Then Modi government in Gujarat opposed it and refused to implement. When the matter reached the Gujarat HC, the court ruled that the scholarship for minority students was constitu-

tional.<sup>26</sup> The state moved the Supreme Court against the verdict. Its affidavit said, 'The Sachar Committee is neither constitutional nor statutory. It has not taken into consideration other religious minorities. Therefore, it cannot form the basis of the scheme. . . . The committee's target was to help Muslims only.'<sup>27</sup> When the RMCR was tabled in the Parliament in 2009, the Modi government brought a resolution in the Assembly, appealing to the centre not to accept RMC's recommendation to provide reservation benefits to Dalit Muslims and Dalit Christians.<sup>28</sup> Although the Congress opposed it, Ashok Bhatt, the speaker at that time, allowed discussion on the issue which prompted the opposition Congress party to stage a walkout from the State Assembly.<sup>29</sup> Maharashtra BJP has followed the policy of its national leaders and opposed the report. Whenever the Congress-NCP government in the state took some decisions to implement the provisions of the SCR, it opposed the move. Pasha Patel's work is praiseworthy – however, he blamed only the Congress for the plight of the Muslims.<sup>30</sup> It should be noted that ideological opposition of the BJP to the SCR and Pasha Patel's concern for the community were not matching. Some even say that in his speeches he blamed only Congress for Muslims backwardness and it was a political attempt to spread dissatisfaction among Muslims about the Congress party.

#### CHANGE OF HEART OR DECEPTIVE TRAPS

After its defeat in the General Election of 2009, a change of heart was noticed in the policies of the BJP towards Muslims. Writing in blog on 17 May 2010, L.K. Advani quoted figures and tables of the SCR regarding educational level, employment rates and other indicators to show that socio-economic conditions of Muslims in Gujarat were better than the national average. He quoted names of only those states which were below the national average in terms of socio-economic condition of Muslims. Names of states which performed better than Gujarat on those indicators, were not quoted. He concluded, 'But going through the comparative statistics compiled by the Committee, I feel Gujarat should be grateful to Justice Sachar for providing convincingly to the country that under

Narendra Bhai Modi's regime Muslims are far better off than their counterparts in other states'.<sup>31</sup>

In 2011, Shah Nawaz Hussain quoted the SCR for explaining the pathetic conditions of Muslims.<sup>32</sup> In January 2012, before the UP Assembly election in 2012, an Urdu pamphlet was slipped under the doors of Muslim homes in UP. The pamphlet titled 'The BJP is Anti-Muslim – Myth or Reality?' reads, 'Don't believe us. Read Justice Sachar Committee Report on the Muslims' wretched conditions and its recommendations that are gathering dust for past five years'. It also quoted the good condition of Muslims in Gujarat and rubbished the charge of discrimination against Muslim by the BJP.<sup>33</sup> In May 2012, Nitin Gadkari, then BJP president outlined the party's strategy for the 2014 general elections and asked its workers to expand their base and reach out to the minority communities.<sup>34</sup> In March 2013, L.K. Advani demanded that the mutual equation between BJP and the minorities must change. The BJP should take initiatives in this direction by including a 'Charter of Commitments' in its agenda for governance and development.<sup>35</sup> Gujarat BJP's Surat unit held a 'Muslim Samaj Maha Sammelan' in June 2013 to woo Muslims. It was expected that members of the Muslim community would join the BJP in large numbers.<sup>36</sup> On Modi's suggestion, the then BJP president Rajnath Singh decided, in June 2013, to come out with a separate 'Vision Document for Empowerment of Minorities' and Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi was assigned to lead it. It was decided that Naqvi would interact with clerics, scholars and minority educational institutions to frame a vision for 'socio-economic and political empowerment of minorities'.<sup>37</sup> Talking about it, Naqvi commented on the arrest of Muslim youths under terror charges and said, 'They are first arrested and then it is being said that they are innocents. This creates a sense of insecurity.' He also claimed that innocent Muslim youths were being arrested in non-BJP ruled states. The document would highlight the political hypocrisy of the Congress. His statement and its timing was important as innocent Muslim youths were grappling with the problem of issue of terrorism.<sup>38</sup> During his visit to Mumbai in June 2013, Narendra Modi urged the BJP leaders of Maharashtra to connect to minorities ahead of the 2014

election. He urged them to reach out to Muslims as they perceived BJP as their adversary.<sup>39</sup> C.P. Thakur said in June 2013 that BJP was neither interested in providing skull caps to Muslims nor wanted to advertise their photographs with the minority people in the newspapers. He claimed that his party was interested in development and welfare of minorities to win their hearts.<sup>40</sup> In May 2013, Shivraj Singh Chauhan laid the foundation stone for the Hajj House at Bhopal and promised another Hajj House at Indore. He said that the MP government was committed to empowerment of minorities and ensuring their progress through education, skill development and job opportunities.<sup>41</sup> He wanted a 'riot-free' state and whenever communal riots occurred, they were dealt with an iron hand.<sup>42</sup> BJP in Rajasthan released its manifesto in November 2013, which promised plans to encourage education, skill development, special loans for women, management of Wakf properties, modernization of *madrasas*, linking *madrasas* with vocational education and scholarship and hostel facilities for minority students.<sup>43</sup> Ahead of Modi's Kanpur rally in October 2013, BJP made effort to give Modi a 'Muslim-friendly' image to woo Muslims. More than 25,000 copies of the booklet 'Naaz Hai Gujarat Par' (We are Proud of Gujarat) were distributed in Muslim-dominated areas. The booklet quoted extensively from the SCR to show that Muslims in Gujarat had prospered more as compared to that in other states.<sup>44</sup> At a conclave held at Gandhinagar on 29 June 2013, 50 prominent Muslim leaders from across the country had been invited and the keynote address was delivered by late A.P.J. Abdul Kalam. It was considered the biggest attempt by Modi to reach out to Muslims.<sup>45</sup>

BJP's attempt to reach out to Muslims did not go well into the community. Leaders and intellectuals described it as BJP's tactical deceptive traps. In a power point presentation at the conclave, Zafar Mahmood flayed BJP and Modi for their attitude towards Muslims. He quoted three essays featured on the BJP's website to show that 'BJP's Philosophy' was anti-Muslim: (1) 'Hindutva: The Great Nationalist Ideology', (2) 'Give us this Day our Sense of Mission' by M.V. Kamath and (3) 'Semitic Monotheism'. He went

on to demand that BJP should show its sincerity by implementing the recommendations of the Sachar Committee and the RMC.<sup>46</sup> He also urged BJP to introduce a resolution in the Parliament for creation of Indian Wakf Service and Amendment in the 1950 Presidential Order to make SC definition religion-neutral.<sup>47</sup>

Dr. Javed Jamil, an India-based thinker and writer, questioned Zafar Mahmood's move to present the community's fate before Modi. He says that Muslims on the other hand must make it clear that, Modi or no Modi, BJP is not acceptable to them unless it openly declares a paradigm shift in its fundamental ideology of communalism.<sup>48</sup> Dr. Mohammed Manzoor Alam said, 'By participating in Modi conclave, the 30 Muslims have betrayed the blood of the innocent victims in Gujarat. With their act they have conferred legitimacy to the Modi government and sowed confusion in the minds not only of Muslims, but a large number of liberal, fair-minded Hindus and others all over India.'<sup>49</sup>

As regards BJP's decision to bring the 'Vision Document', Muslims perceived it as a gimmick which purpose was to woo them on the eve of election. Dr. Javed Jamil said that if BJP was really sincere in socio-economic development of Muslims, first it had to undo the damage caused by two tragedies – Babri Masjid demolition and the Gujarat riots – which were largely BJP induced.<sup>50</sup> Reacting to Javed Jamil's suggestion that Muslims may negotiate deal with the BJP, if it makes corrections for two issues mentioned above, Kaleem Kawaja, an engineer and social activist living in Washington, said that that was a potentially very harmful and disturbing strategy. He further said that BJP had never accepted that India was a composite nation. BJP's concept of religious and ethnic minorities was like the Nazi concept of minorities in the Germany of 1930s-40s, where they had a limited space. The games which Vajpayee played with Muslims and that Advani was playing then were nothing but tactical deceptive traps.<sup>51</sup>

Amulya Ganguli, a political analyst, writes that for years BJP has been accusing the Congress of minority appeasement. Now, it has decided to follow a similar path by deciding to bring the 'Vision Document for Empowerment of Muslims' against the



wishes of RSS, VHP, Bajrang Dal, etc., whose objective is to establish a Hindu Rashtra where the minorities will be second class citizens. Hindutva along with empowerment of Muslims is BJP's double game.<sup>52</sup> On 'Vision Document' and removing 'terror tag', Dr. Mohammad Manzoor Alam said that BJP's track record in redressing Muslim's backwardness had been very bad. It had been fiercely opposing all attempts to bring affirmative action to Muslims. Why were the killers of Ishrat Jehan being defended and Zakia Jaffery's legitimate quest for justice thwarted by the BJP? BJP had opposed the Communal Violence Bill and termed it as anti-Hindu. When Sangh's own members' involvement in terror cases were coming to the fore, the BJP was promising to remove the terror-tag from Muslims. In the light of its track record and its action, its declaration of the Vision Document sounded hollow. He said that the initiative looked like a bait to catch Muslim votes in the coming elections.<sup>53</sup> Pointing to the presence of Muslims in BJP and to the 'Vision Document', Mohammed Mahmood asks why BJP needs Muslim leaders. The BJP-RSS combine wants to keep Muslim stooges for some reasons including confusing and dividing the Muslims during the elections.<sup>54</sup>

The BJP is ideologically against the Sachar Committee and the RMC. It opposed the Sachar Committee even in its data collection stage. It opposed the implementation of these two reports. Some change of heart was noticed but that was only on paper and to confuse Muslim voters. It was an election gimmick. Stand of the present government on many issues pertaining to the two reports vindicate the old stand of the BJP.

#### RSS AND OTHER HINDUTVA ORGANIZATIONS

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS – Association of National Volunteers) was founded at Nagpur in 1925 by Keshav Baliram Hedgewar, who had received his political training from B.S. Moonje. With more than 44,000 *shakhas* (branches) operating across 30,000 cities and towns, number of *swayamsevak*s could be from 7 to 8 million.<sup>55</sup> Today, it controls more than 30 front organizations which cover every aspect of human life – social, religious,

political, cultural, economic, etc. RSS reaction to any event or incident is watched carefully and noted cautiously.

On the SCR, RSS leader Madan Das Devi supported the BJP's view that the report was being flogged for 'vote bank politics'. While he rejected the religion-based quota and 'minorityism', he stressed the need to study the portion of the report related to lower-middle income groups. He also said, 'After examining the report, if reservation for sections of the Muslim community needed to be considered on social basis, the Sangh is not averse to such an idea'.<sup>56</sup> The editor of the *Organizer*, the mouthpiece of the RSS, wrote, 'This dubious proposal of Justice Misra, a former Congress MP, is more damning than Pakistan's Ghauri Missiles aimed at the Hindu Society'.<sup>57</sup> In the *Organizer* of January 2008, Murli Manohar Joshi attacked the findings of the Sachar Committee, ostensibly citing a Centre of Policy Research (CPR) paper. In the article titled 'Do Not Plan on Fake Assumptions, Learn from History and Work for National Growth with Unity', he tried to falsify data on Muslim poverty, education and community's participation in government employment. He claimed that Waqf properties were enough to take care of their lot. However, the CPR denied the existence of such a report and had written to Joshi, asking for clarification.<sup>58</sup> An editorial, in the special issue of the *Organizer*, titled 'Hindus: Deprived, Discriminated and Robbed' said that SCR and RMCR were tools to catch votes and keep the Muslim alienated from the national mainstream. 'The Congress had accepted the charter of demands of Muslims wholly, which is divisive in nature and it is also a carbon copy of the demands of the pre-Partition Muslim League of Mohammed Ali Jinnah'.<sup>59</sup>

In an apparent move to go off the beaten track, K.S. Sudarshan (1931-2012), then RSS chief, had written a letter to then PM asking him to implement some measures to uplift the Muslim community in India. He suggested: (1) To appoint an officer in the state to look after the Waqf properties and liberate them from encroachments; (2) To implement the recommendations of the JPC on Waqf in all states; (3) To pay salaries to Imams and Muezzins as per the instruction of the SCI and at par with the Punjab Waqf Board scale; and (4) To instruct all departments to pay dues and

rents to the Waqf Boards so that a Rs. 1,000 crore fund could be created for development of the community.<sup>60</sup>

Some people argue that the letter was written before the General Election in 2009 in an attempt to catch Muslim votes. Others argue that it was an attempt to boost the image of the saffron brigade. But intellectuals say that those demands were basically the main recommendations of the SCR and letter of such kind could not have come without a major change of heart in K.S. Sudarshan. He relinquished his post of RSS chief and Mohan Bhagwat was chosen as his successor in the same month, March 2009. People also say that the letter cost Sudarshan his post. Sudarshan did not stop there. On the day of Eid festival in August 2012, he left his residence 'Samidha' in the morning and headed towards Taj-ul-Masjid in Bhopal to offer Eid *namaaz*. When an IPS officer of ADG rank informed Babulal Gaur, a minister in the MP government, he stopped him in the way, convinced Sudarshan to give up the idea and took him to one of his Muslim friend's residence. When the news came in the media, an RSS spokesman tried to cover up the incident by saying that he was not going to offer *namaaz* but to greet people on Eid festival.<sup>61</sup> Some said it was a gesture of communal harmony while others termed it as a whimsical act. Even if it reflects the senility of an old man it is what William Shakespeare called 'reason in madness'. In most probability, he underwent a big change of heart to the end.

#### VISHWA HINDU PARISHAD (VHP)

Founded on 29 August 1964 to confederate Hindu sects on a Christian model and to organize the Hindu world to save itself from three evil eyes – Christianity, Islam and Communism.<sup>62</sup> It is a religious and proselytizing wing of the RSS which gives reaction on socio-economic and political issues as well. Pravin Togadia condemned the RMCR and threatened a nationwide agitation if the government made any move to implement it. He alleged, 'It is anti-constitutional, anti-national and anti-Hindu'.<sup>63</sup> When 4.5 per cent sub-quota was announced for OBCs of minorities, the VHP termed it as 'unconstitutional Muslim appeasement'. It said that apart from

seeking immediate withdrawal of the decision, it would also press for rejection of the RMCR and the SCR.<sup>64</sup>

#### BHARATIYA VICHAR MANCH (BVM)

In a book titled *Sachar Committee: Conspiracy to Divide the Nation?*, its authors, Rakesh Sinha and others of BVM, questioned the constitutional validity of the Sachar Committee and highlighted the anomaly during the working of the committee and said that data had been meticulously manipulated to show that Muslims status was similar to that of SCs/STs. The ultimate goal of the committee was to legitimize reservation for Muslims in government jobs, private sector and the Army, despite no Muslim being capable of passing the test of 'historical burden of circumstances'. They claimed that it threatened the very unity and integrity of India.<sup>65</sup> Rakesh Sinha demanded to reject the report. He also claimed that the committee had been constituted on communal lines due to vote bank politics which would divide the country.<sup>66</sup>

#### HINDU JANJAGRITI SAMITI (HJS)

It has been established to propagate the extreme brand of Hinduism with the organizational goal to establish Hindu Rashtra in India. It calls Muslims as 'fanatics' on the homepage of its websites. The HJS, time and again, keeps uploading its reaction to SCR and the RMCR. Under the head 'Favour by Government', it described 215 favours (appeasement) given to Muslims by the government.<sup>67</sup> An appeal made to all Indians by the author of a Marathi book titled *Sachar Samiticha Ahwal Arthat Dharmanirpekshatechya Kalpanela Surung* (Sachar Committee's Report or Blowing up Our Concept of Secularism) which appeared on HJS website on 31 May 2010, deserves mention here.

Our Armed Forces will fight with Pakistan  
Police will fight with Kasab, But  
Who will fight with 'anti-national activities'  
Undertaken by our own people for politics of votes?  
. . . will we?

Thus the author described the SCR as a demon and anti-national and made appeal to people of all professions to oppose the report for their 'very existence'.<sup>68</sup>

#### HINDU RIGHT-WING EXTREMISTS

The fiercest reaction came from the alleged terrorists of the Hindu Right-Wing extremist group. The terror group, headed by slain RSS *pracharak*, Sunil Joshi, was angry over the setting up of the panel. They also knew that the committee was to submit its report in November 2006. Hence, they had planned to target Justice Sachar in October 2006. According to some sources in the NIA, Rajendra Chaudhary, an alleged Samjhauta Express train bomber, revealed during interrogation that they had carried out a *recce* in New Delhi for an attack on Justice Sachar. However, the plan was dropped due to heightened security in New Delhi.<sup>69</sup>

The RSS and other Hindutva organizations termed these two reports as anti-national and an attempt to divide the nation. They questioned the working of the committee and blamed that the whole exercise was to provide religious reservation to Muslims. They appealed to people to create awareness so that the two reports could not be implemented.

#### LEFT PARTIES

Kerala's Left government had decided to implement the SCR on the lines suggested by the Paloli Committee which had been set up under then Local Administration Minister, Paloli Mohammad Kutty to study the SCR and suggest ways to implement its recommendations. AIDWA, the Women's Wing of the Communist Party of India (CPI-M) organized the first National Convention of Muslim Women in 2008, where it demanded from the government to implement the SCR, allocate 15 per cent of the annual budget for the development of Muslims, provide reservation to Dalit Muslims and a sub-quota for Muslim OBCs in all states. The CPI-M, in

February 2009, demanded proper and immediate implementation of the recommendations of the Sachar Committee and RMC. Former Tripura finance minister Badal Chaudhary, demanded amendment of the Constitution to provide reservation to Muslims. The ruling Left Front had planned a two-month long stir on 11 March 2012 in support of their 14-point demands, that also included implementation of the recommendations of these reports.

In April 2012, it demanded 10 per cent reservation for Muslims and 5 per cent for other minorities as recommended by the RMC and inclusion of Dalit Muslims and Dalit Christians in the SC list. The party said recommendation of reservation would require a law to end the present 50 per cent limit on total reservation 'arbitrarily imposed' by the Supreme Court.<sup>70</sup>

In 2013, it demanded that Muslims be brought under a sub-plan similar to the one for SCs and STs and all Muslim professional communities be recognized as OBC and they be granted all OBC facilities.<sup>71</sup> In January 2014, Prakash Karat advised the people to unite and exert pressure on the government for proper and speedy implementation of the recommendations of the SCR and RMCR.<sup>72</sup>

However, Muslims cited absence of development work by the Left government for Muslims during last 34 years in West Bengal. They said the Left Front had pushed the Muslims behind and did not care about the SCR.<sup>73</sup>

#### SAMAJWADI PARTY (SP)

In an article written from a hospital in Singapore and published in the *Hindu* on 17 August 2009, Amar Singh, then an SP leader, said that the SCR was a revolutionary step to uplift minorities in India and if the GoI implemented its recommendations, that would boost India's secular democracy. He claimed that the SP wanted the implementation of the SCR.<sup>74</sup> In 2011, Mulayam Singh said that there was only one Muslim MP from 14 states from where 257 MPs got elected. He demanded 10 per cent reservation for Muslims in the Lok Sabha and all state assemblies as political empowerment was must for socio-economic development.<sup>75</sup>

In 2011, Akhilesh Yadav promised that if SP returned to power, his governments' first order would be the implementation of the two reports. During the election campaign, Mulayam Singh said that those two reports had shown that Muslims conditions were worse than that of Dalits. They should be given reservation and other benefits. He assured that after assuming power in the state he would implement those two reports. Its manifesto for 2012 Assembly election also promised reservation in government; to mount pressure on the centre for implementation; to implement the recommendations of the Sachar and RMC falling under state control; to set up a commission which will suggest ways for uplifting socially and economically backward Muslims and to amend Waqf rules. It also promised to release, compensate and ensure justice to the Muslim youths who had been jailed under the pretext of anti-terror action and to take action against the guilty officials.<sup>76</sup> Mulayam Singh, Akhilesh Yadav and all important leaders including Azam Khan reiterated their promise to implement these two reports. After election result (6 March 2012), Akhilesh Yadav said that SP was committed to implementation of the SCR and the RMCR. In April 2012, Akhilesh Yadav promised Urdu medium schools at all levels in Muslim dominated areas across UP to promote Urdu language, to link Urdu with government employment and technical education in *madrasas* and separate reservation to the Muslims on the lines of Dalits. In July 2012 he said, 'If required, we will form a committee to find out which recommendations of the Sachar Committee and RMC can be implemented at the state level.' On 11 December 2012, raising the Muslim issues in the Lok Sabha, Mulayam Singh said, 'The government does constitute committees and commission to know the poor conditions of Muslim, but it does not take steps to improve them'. Referring to these two reports he demanded reservation to Muslims in proportion of population. On 15 March 2013, when his government completed one year, Akhilesh Yadav said that he would implement the provisions of those two reports as committed in the election manifesto. He reiterated his promise to provide reservation to Muslims.

On 20 August 2013, the UP state cabinet decided to earmark

20 per cent of the fund under various schemes for minorities. At National Integration Council (NIC) meeting held in September 2013, Akhilesh Yadav said, 'The progress of any state or the country is impossible if Muslims are kept on margins'. Sachar report was a valid document which could be used to mainstream the community. He appealed to the central government to implement the recommendations of the RMC to give reservation to Muslims.

In Maharashtra, Abu Asim Azmi on several forums as well as in the State Assembly has been demanding the implementation of these two reports. In an agitation-turned-meeting on 13 December 2012 at Nagpur, he expressed his regret over non-implementation of the SCR and demanded that the government should come out with a 'white paper' containing the status of implementation of the SCR since November 2006. The SP manifesto released in October 2014 before Maharashtra Assembly election, promised 10 per cent reservation for Muslims, judicial inquiry into fake encounters and compensation to victims of communal violence.

While SP has been very positive about the implementation of these two reports, the actual data emanating from fields tell a different story. It spent mere 2.74 per cent of the allocated funds under the MSDP during the first year of SP's rule (2012-13). Azam Khan, the minority minister in UP, had constituted a review committee in July 2013 to study the status of implementation of the SCR in the state. But till October 2013, no one in the department was aware of such committee.<sup>77</sup>

The SP promised to implement the provisions of the reports and put pressure on the central government to pass a bill to provide reservations. Although some small steps were taken for implementation, there was no concrete steps on major recommendations. It had shown no indication to provide reservation for the deprived section among Muslims. Several Muslim-based parties allege that the SP has not fulfilled its promises made to Muslims before 2012 Assembly elections. It has not implemented the reports; has not given reservation to Muslims; failed to control communal riots and protecting Muslims; and not done anything to give justice to Muslim youths falsely arrested under terror charges.



## BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY

During UP Assembly elections in 2007, BSP chief Mayawati promised that her party was prepared to support the UPA if it brought an amendment in Parliament to grant reservation to Muslims. In 2008, she announced a number of initiatives for the community, including the setting up of an Arabic-Persian University and recruitment of Urdu teachers. To avoid political controversy, she did not announce the implementation of the recommendations of the Sachar Committee directly. When UP election of 2012 had drawn closer, she wrote a letter to the then PM seeking reservation for minorities, particularly Muslims in accordance with their population. Referring to the SCR, she said that a constitutional amendment can be considered, if necessary and promised to extend cooperation. She reminded on many occasion SP's poll promise of giving reservation to Muslims on the basis of their population and also said the SP government had back-tracked from the promise.

In December 2013 quoting the SCR she said that the economic condition of the poor among Muslims and other minorities was very bad. But despite that, the state or the central government had not taken any concrete steps to improve the condition. She quoted her letter written to then PM for granting reservation to minorities and promised that her party would fulfil that commitment if voted to power. On 15 January 2014, she promised that if voted to power her party would honestly pay special attention to implement the recommendation of the Sachar Committee.<sup>78</sup>

## PIECES OF JANATA DAL

## RASHTRIYA JANATA DAL (RJD)

In 2007, at Insaaf Conference held to press the central government to implement the SCR, RJD chief Lalu Prasad Yadav assured Muslims that UPA-I would implement it as there was no question of sitting over it and delaying the implementation. He said that Muslims were 'yet to get their due' after six decades of Independence and demanded that the UPA government must implement the recommendations of the SCR ignoring the oppositions. On

29 April 2010, the SCR and the RMCR generated heat in the Lok Sabha when Lalu Yadav charged the government of being anti-Muslim and led a walkout. He along with Mulayam Singh wanted to know whether the government was prepared to amend the Constitution to provide reservation to Muslims.

Joint manifesto of RJD and LJP for Bihar Assembly election in 2010 promised that the SCR would be implemented within six months of the formation of government, if voted to power along with the assurance of honour, dignity and security to the Muslim community. It promised that as recommended in the RMCR, 15 per cent reservation would be given to minorities of which 10 per cent would be for Muslims. Of the 10 per cent for Muslims, 7.5 per cent would be given to backward Muslims. The manifesto stated that the provisions of those two reports would be enforced in Bihar Staff Selection Commission and would be applicable for the posting of administrative, police and judicial services.<sup>79</sup>

#### LOK JANSHAKTI PARTY (LJP)

As chairman of Dalits and Minorities International Forum (DMIF), Ram Vilas Paswan, in December 2006, demanded the implementation of the Sachar panel. In 2011, Paswan put forward some important demands. Those were: (1) Implementation of the SCR and RMCR in letter and spirit; (2) Reservation for Dalits and minorities in government jobs, private and public sectors and educational institutions; (3) Reservation in commercial contracts, allotment of land and housing, etc.; (4) Establish National Judicial Service to ensure proper share of Dalits and Muslims in the judiciary; and (5) To pass the Communal Violence Bill without any further delay.<sup>80</sup> In 2007, the party demanded the same and separate reservation for Muslims in government employment and admissions. It said that if need be, an amendment to the Constitution should also be undertaken. In August 2009, Paswan said that Muslims and Dalits sailed in the same boat and if Bihar government was really serious to solve the problem of Muslims, it must give 10 per cent reservation to Muslims in jobs and admissions on the pattern of Muslim quota given in Kerala, Karnataka, TN and

AP. He also demanded to table the RMCR and grant SC status to Dalits belonging to Muslims and Christians. He was chief brain behind the RJD-LJP joint manifesto which was released before Bihar Assembly election of 2010. The manifesto promised implementation of the SCR in 6 months and reservation to Muslims as recommended by the RMC. During UPA regime he had been very vocal and positive about the implementation of the provisions of the two reports. In NDA government he is keeping silent and has not raised the issue due to obvious reasons.

#### JANATA DAL (SECULAR)

In March 2012, H.D. Deve Gowda accused the Congress of 'going back' on its promise of providing reservation to Muslims which was unfortunate. He demanded implementation of both the reports. On 13 March 2012, he questioned the long delay by the central government in implementing the recommendations and demanded the same. The manifesto released by the JD(S) in April 2013, promised, among other things, the implementation of provisions of the SCR. Thus JD(S) has also been positive and clear about the implementation of these two reports.

#### JANATA DAL (UNITED)

At data collection stage, Nitish Kumar led JD(U)-BJP government in Bihar had come under criticism for non-cooperation with the Sachar Committee. On 26 February 2006, the Congress party alleged that Nitish did not spare time to discuss the minority issue with the Sachar panel during its three-day visit to Bihar.<sup>81</sup>

In May 2009, National Executive body of the JD(U) passed a resolution which read, 'It is unfortunate that the recommendations of the Sachar Committee have yet not been implemented. JD(U) demands that these recommendations are immediately implemented. Not only Dalit Muslims but Dalit Christians be also given SC status.' In July 2010, at a conference of Pasmanda Adhikar Sammelan at Patna, Nitish Kumar rebuked the UPA government for its tardiness in implementing the two reports. He demanded that

there should be no discrimination on the basis of religion and Dalit Muslims and Dalit Christians both be included in the SC list.

His government in Bihar had initiated 9 major schemes to improve the socio-economic, educational and employment condition of Muslims. As claimed by the then state minority minister, Shahid Ali Khan the department's budget in 2004-5 was Rs. 3.45 crore whereas 200 crore in 2010. The government had created a directorate for better monitoring of minority schemes and had posted a minority welfare officer in each district.<sup>82</sup> However, a report tabled in the Assembly in December 2013 pointed out that more than half of the funds sanctioned under the MSDP was returned. Thus on utilization front government's record was not impressive.<sup>83</sup> JD(U) has also been positive to these reports and its leaders especially Sharad Yadav and Nitish Kumar have demanded full implementation. More specifically, the party has supported that Dalits among Muslims be given SC status.

#### TRINAMOOL CONGRESS

As promised in the election campaign of 2011, in her first cabinet meeting, Mamata Bannerjee decided to implement the recommendations of the Sachar Committee, by inviting Justice Sachar.<sup>84</sup> On her request Justice Sachar visited the state on 30 July 2011. During a one-and-half-hour-long meeting he and Ms. Bannerjee discussed issues related to the development of Muslims in West Bengal. On 9 April 2012, she announced a monthly honorarium of Rs. 2,500 each for all *imams* and later a monthly honorarium of Rs. 1,000 each to *muezzins* of all mosques. The state BJP filed a PIL against that decision. The High Court rejected the honorarium and observed that the decision violated Articles 14 and 15(1) of the Constitution and observed that the *imams* and *muezzins* could not be treated as a separate community and the payment of such allowances on the basis of religion was illegal.<sup>85</sup>

However, community leaders and intellectuals viewed those steps as small in size, that did not show much impact while major recommendation were not implemented. Kari Fazlur Rahman, an *imam* from West Bengal criticized her for not implementing major

recommendations of the SCR. He said that he had submitted a charter of 10 demands one year before but majority of demands had yet to be fulfilled. The demands were: Inclusion of Muslims in OBC category; Reservation for Muslims in job and admissions; Reservation of 25 per cent accommodations for Muslims in new cities like Rajarhat; Recognition to Muslim organizations; and construction of 5,000 new flats for Muslims.<sup>86</sup>

However, she rubbished the reports of negligence and said that her government had already completed 90 per cent of the recommendations. She promised to complete the remaining 10 per cent work soon. In short, her stand on the SCR has been very positive and encouraging. She has implemented many provisions of the SCR. However, major provisions have been left out or ignored.

#### NATIONALIST CONGRESS PARTY (NCP)

In August 2007, Delhi NCP president, Ramvir Singh Bidhuri demanded implementation of the SCR and said that his party would stage a *dharna* outside the Delhi CM office. He also demanded the same of the RMCR and 15 per cent reservation to minorities in government jobs and PSUs of Delhi government. In October 2007, Sharad Pawar, the NCP president said that the SCR was an eye-opener and his party fully agreed with it and it would chalk out a detailed plan to create nationwide awareness on the plight of minorities and press the government for implementation. In January 2008, he called for immediate implementation of the recommendation of the SCR. He said that NCP would translate the report into all Indian languages so that non-Muslims understood the plight of the community.

In August 2008, at its South India Minority Conference, it urged the centre and state governments to implement the SCR in true and effective manner. NCP national secretary, Dr. Akhtar Hassan Rizvi assured that Sharad Pawar would pressurize the union government for speedy implementation of the SCR. A convention of party's minority cell was held at New Delhi in November 2011. All national level leaders including Sharad Pawar were present on the occasion. The convention passed some important resolutions: (1) Early implementation of the two reports as Muslims needed

'different treatment' for development; (2) 15 per cent reservation for minorities of which 10 per cent should go to Muslims; (3) Constitutional amendment if needed for the purpose; (4) Establishment of an EOC; and (5) Proper implementation of the PM's new 15-PP. Sharad Pawar supported the draft resolution on minorities and said that implementation was not a favour to Muslims, but their due right. He also assured that he would take up the reservation issue in parliament.<sup>87</sup> NCP manifesto of the 2014 Parliamentary election promised implementation of the SCR, reservation for Muslims and passing of the Communal Violence Bill. NCP's stand on the two reports has been positive and encouraging. It demanded implementation of these two reports on several occasions. However, all such resolutions were passed in the meeting of the minority cell of the party. Promises were not translated into action in Maharashtra where NCP shared equal power with the Congress.

#### SHIV SENA

Founded on 19 June 1966 by political cartoonist, the late Bal Thackeray, Shiv Sena is a Marathi chauvinistic and Hindu nationalist political party in Maharashtra.<sup>88</sup> In the 2009 Assembly election manifesto, the party did not promise anything to Muslims. On 'Social Justice' head, it mentioned SCs, STs, Nomadic Tribes (NT), OBCs and landless people.<sup>89</sup> When the first follow-up action on the SCR was presented in the Parliament, then Sena MP Manohar Joshi threatened to launch an agitation if the government continued with that. He described the action of the government as nothing but an act of appeasement.<sup>90</sup> A Shiv Sena delegation headed by Uddhav Thackeray met then PM and apprised him of the party's stand on the SCR. It also handed over a letter, written by Bal Thackeray which asked the PM to put the SCR in the dustbin as it would lay the foundation of another partition on religious grounds. He also called the report a divisive agenda and an instrument of minority appeasement.<sup>91</sup> Manmohan Singh, then, had directed the then minority minister A.R. Antulay to give a detailed reply to the content of the letter against the SCR. It was felt that Thackeray's offensive was aimed at religious polarization.<sup>92</sup>

In *Saamna*, Bal Thackeray advised to burn the SCR and accused

the then UPA government for appeasing Muslims. He vehemently opposed quota for Muslims and extension of reservation in the armed forces and police.<sup>93</sup> However, the party softened its stand when a Muslim delegation led by Pasha Patel and Farid Batatawala met Uddhav Thackeray in November 2007. It apprised Thackeray of the salient features of the SCR and said it would be unfortunate if anyone opposed the SCR because its implementation would go a long way in removing extreme poverty and backwardness among Indian Muslims. Uddhav Thackeray said that the problem of poverty was common among all communities and his party was willing to join hands with Muslims and other communities to fight the vices of hunger, illiteracy, sickness and social backwardness.<sup>94</sup> In short, Sena's stand on the SCR has been very negative. It called the report an act of appeasement and asked then PM to consign the report to the dustbin.

#### TELUGU DESAM PARTY (TDP)

In 2007, N. Chandrababu Naidu demanded the centre to implement the SCR immediately. He expressed his dissatisfaction over the delay and accused that the Congress was not committed and that it would give only assurances and talk about Muslim reservations during the election period. In 2009, TDP leader Laljan Basha said that the Congress had failed to safeguard the interests of minorities as it did not place the SCR in the Parliament to give reservation and no steps to protect Waqf properties. He termed scholarships as political gimmicks of the Congress party and demanded implementation of the major recommendations of the SCR.

In December 2011, TDP leaders, Yanamala Ramakrishnu and Dadi Veerabhadra Rao urged the centre to create a separate quota for Muslims and give them reservation as recommended by the RMC. They suggested the government to bring a constitutional amendment to raise the OBC quota from 27 to 52 per cent and give 10 per cent reservation to Muslims. When the draft of the 12th FYP was being prepared, a delegation of TDP MPs led by N. Nageshwar Rao met then deputy chairman of the Planning Commission and apprised him of the socio-economic condition of

the Muslims as revealed by the SCR and other committees. The delegation said that Muslim community was the second largest majority of the country, without whose development the development of the country was impossible. Hence, instead of paying lip-services, practical measures should be taken.

In September 2012, Naidu held the Congress responsible for the condition of Muslims not only in AP but all over India and blamed it for using Muslims as vote bank. He presented the 'Muslim Declaration of TDP' which included important demands: (1) 10 per cent reservation for Muslims in jobs and admissions; (2) 8 per cent political reservation in the Assembly; (3) Rs. 2,500 crore sub-plan for Muslims as provided to SCs and STs; (4) Rs. 5 lakh loan to Muslim youths to start their business on the lines of the two reports; and (5) Promotion of Urdu in schools having 20 per cent or more students willing to study Urdu.<sup>95</sup> In 2013, its leader M.A. Shariff reiterated the promises of the above document and promised 15 per cent of the party tickets to Muslims in the next Assembly election, 8 per cent political reservation for them and implementation of those two reports.

#### DMK

On 1 December 2006, M. Karunanidhi welcomed the SCR and its contents. He said some of the provisions like reservation of Muslims in education and job, creation of an EOC and steps to increase share of Muslims in politics should be implemented at the earliest. He has been positive to the RMC also. In response to demand of the Christian community, he promised implementation of the RMCR and SC status to Dalit Christians. He assured them all help on the issue and said that he would raise the issue with the then UPA Chairperson Sonia Gandhi. DMK manifesto before 2014 Lok Sabha election promised implementation of the SCR and RMCR. It promised abolition of inequalities and reservation for the weaker sections in proportion to their population and SC status for Dalits of non-Hindu communities. It also promised 19 per cent of the plan outlay for Muslims through PM 15-PP and withdrawal of Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act (UAPA).



## AIADMK

When phrases like ‘AIADMK on Sachar report’, or ‘J. Jayalalitha on Sachar report’ and ‘AIADMK manifesto on Sachar report’, were googled, we hardly found anything related to the party’s stand on the SCR. In August 2013, in a politically surprising move, she wrote a letter to then PM and sought SC status for Dalit Hindus who converted into Christianity. The letter called for deletion of para 3 of the Constitution (SC) Order, 1950 as recommended by RMC and to bring in a legislation for that purpose in the Parliament.<sup>96</sup> Thus AIADMK’s stand is not very positive to these reports. Although she wrote a letter to demand SC status to Dalit Christians, she didn’t mention the same for Dalit Muslims.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE (NC) AND PEOPLE’S  
DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDP)

On 4 February 2008 in Mumbai, NC leader Dr Farooque Abdullah urged the central as well as the state governments to implement the much awaited SCR. PDP’s patron late Mufti Mohammad Sayeed said that the Muslims continued to face socio-economic problems that had pushed them almost to the lowest strata. He called for a focused follow up of the SCR and demanded its implementation. He said instead of false promises, there was need to have a national policy on minorities, especially Muslims. Although J&K is the only state where Muslims constitute 68 per cent of the total population, parties in the state have not shown much interest on these two reports.

## BIJU JANATA DAL (BJD)

In Odisha, the state has not cared to make any sincere effect to uplift Muslims. Strangely, unlike other states, Odisha has not included a single Muslim caste in the list of socially and educationally backward castes despite widespread deprivation, marginalization and under-representation of a large number of Muslims.<sup>97</sup> When we Google key phrases like ‘Naveen Patnaik on Sachar Report’,

‘Naveen Patnaik on Rangnath Mishra Commission Report’, ‘BJD on Sachar Report’ or ‘BJD on Rangnath Mishra Commission Report’, we do not find any link of news or statements which connect BJD with these two reports. BJD has not shown any interest to get these two reports implemented. Weak political strength of the Muslim community in the state may be the reason for this apathy.

#### AAM AADMI PARTY (AAP)

The party believes in the Gandhian concept of *swaraj* by which the government will directly be accountable to the people. As the party is new, it has not made its stand clear on many social, economic and political issues. It has also not reacted directly to these two reports. Its Delhi Election Manifesto, 2013 promised end to harassment of Muslims by police; end to implicating Muslim youths in false cases; improving functioning of Delhi Wakf Board; providing second language status to Urdu in genuine term by filling posts of Urdu teachers and efforts to end discrimination. A letter written by Arvind Kejriwal and addressed to Muslims of Delhi titled ‘Aam Aadmi Party: Last hope for Muslims’ promised the same things as mentioned in the manifesto. In an interview Kejriwal attacked Congress for using Muslims as captive vote bank for 65 years. What they got in return? They got Gopal Panel in 1981 and SCR in 2007. Both these reports revealed pathetic condition of Muslims. The Congress had not implemented any of the reports. Yet he refrained from making any promise to implement these reports. In January 2014, Prashant Bhushan, then AAP leader, promised the same things. Yogendra Yadav, then AAP leader said, ‘So called secular politics reduces the concerns of Muslims to problems which are exclusively Muslims. So, the entire thinking resolves around the question of security and identity, as if Muslims do not need water, as if they do not need electricity, as if they do not need education and health’. He promised to end discrimination that lead to alienation; to give sub-quota from OBC quota as ‘Blanket Reservation’ for the whole community would be counter-productive. AAP’s response from its documents and leaders interview make it clear that

it blames Congress and BJP for the pathetic condition of Muslims. It genuinely promises to end discrimination, action against false implication of Muslim youths, to start fast track courts and reconstitution of Muslim bodies/institutions. However, it has not promised anything to implement these two reports.

## MUSLIM BASE POLITICAL PARTIES

### INDIAN UNION MUSLIM LEAGUE (IUML)

On the following day of submission of the SCR, the former MP Late G.M. Banatwala appealed to then PM for earliest placement of the SCR before the parliament and quick action on it including reservation. In January 2007, IUML held a meeting of all Muslim groups and Muslim regional parties to create a joint national platform to 'see the implementation of SCR at its right earnest'. In July 2007, Banatwala reminded the then UPA government to implement the SCR and demanded to make public the RMCR. On 17 March 2008, IUML General Secretary Abdul Sattar Majahid demanded UPA to implement the same without further delay. On several occasions IUML leaders demanded that the recommendations of these two reports be implemented at the earliest.

### ALL INDIA MAJLIS-E-ITTEHADUL MUSLIMEEN (AIMIM)

Asaduddin Owaisi demanded then UPA to implement the report fully when it was presented in the Parliament and to amend the Presidential Order of 1950 and provide reservation to Muslims on the lines of Karnataka, Kerala and TN. On 17 March 2010, he reiterated his demand of quota for Muslim women in the Women Reservation Bill and 10 per cent reservation to Muslims as recommended by the RMC. On 25 September 2011, he said that any talk of bringing the community into the mainstream and doing justice to them without giving them quota would be a 'loose talk'. He demanded SC status to Muslims and setting up of the EOC. Besides, the party has been very vocal for implementation of the provisions of these reports inside and outside the Parliament.

## ALL INDIA UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (AIUDF)

While lending outside support to UPA government, AIUDF leader and MP Badruddin Ajmal set several conditions for the support including implementation of the SCR. He has been demanding implementation of these two reports in its true spirit.

Besides these three main Muslim base parties, there are some small but assertive ones that have been doing much for these two reports. They strove to create awareness among the public as well as to remind the government to implement these two reports. These are: Peace Party of India (PPI), Social Democratic Party of India (SDPI), Welfare Party of India (WPI), TNTJ, TMMK, Awami Vikas Party (AVP), Rashtriya Inquilab Party (RIP), Rashtriya Ulema Council (RUC), Ittehad-e-Millat Council (IMC), Parcham Party (PP), Millat Party, Qaumi Ekta Dal (QED), Indian National League (INL), Manithaneyya Makkal Katchi (MMK), Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) (Kerala) and People's Democratic Conference of India (West Bengal, now merged with AIUDF).

## MUSLIM ORGANIZATIONS

Several prominent Muslim organizations and numerous small but important ones have been doing good effort in making the public aware and pressurizing the governments to implement the recommendations of these two reports. They have been organizing lectures, seminars, workshops, *dharnas*, public protests, etc., for this purpose. Prominent among them are: AIMMM, Jamiat Ulama-i-Hind (JUH), Jamaat-e-Islami Hind (JIH), All India Muslim Personal Law Board (AIMPLB), Students Islamic Organization (SIO), PFI, IOS, SEE, Zakat Foundation of India (ZFI), Sir Syed Awareness Forum (SSAF), MPJ, BMMA, Forum for Muslim Studies & Analysis (FMSA), Maulana Azad Vichar Manch (MAVM), All India Ulama and Mashaikh Board (AIUMB), All India Sunni Ulema Federation (AISUF), Millat Bedari Muhim Committee (MBMC), Centre for Public Interest Litigation (CPIL), Qaumi Tanzeem (QT), All India Muslim OBC Organization (AIMOO), All India Rangnath Mishra Commission Report Implementation Committee, Muslim

Youth Federation (MYF), Human Chain, Milli Council, AMU Alumni Association (AAA), Bahujan Kranti Dal (BKD), United Muslim Organization/United Muslim Front, All India Jamiatul Quresh (AIJQ), All India United Muslim Morcha (AIUMM), Akhil Maharashtra Muslim Khatik Samaj (AMKS), Markazi Majlis-e-Ulama (Maharashtra), Muslim Representative Council, Wasi Memorial Society (Kolkata), Muslim Youth Organization (Kolkata) and All India Imam Council.

This list is not exhaustive. There are many other organizations which have contributed significantly but do not find place here as the information related to their activities could not come before or during the process of writing this book. These have been organizing activities as per their understanding. To name a few, ZFI organized at least 14 national workshops to create awareness. MPJ organized 32 public meetings and 70 sit-ins in different districts of Maharashtra and several public meetings in Mumbai.

#### THE DIASPORA

Here we shall see the reaction of Muslims settled in the USA, UK and the Gulf countries. When one studies such reaction of the diaspora in the USA, Dr. Khalidi's name comes foremost to the mind. Dr. Omar Khalidi (1953-2010), a long time MIT research librarian was a respected scholar who had been committed to the cause of social justice for Muslims in India. He wrote and edited more than 25 books and published scores of academic articles and research papers. He welcomed the findings of the SCR, created awareness and demanded its implementation. His two well-known books – *Khaki and Ethnic Violence in India: Army, Police and Para-Military Forces during Communal Riots* (2003) and *Muslim in Indian Economy* (2006), were instrumental in illuminating institutional denial and discrimination against Muslims in India. L.K. Advani personally held Khalidi responsible for the Sachar Committee's request for a community-wise census and attacked him for allegedly tarnishing the secular credentials of the Army.<sup>98</sup>

Two main organizations: American Federation of Muslims of Indian Origin (AFMI) and Association of Indian Muslims of

America (AIMA) have welcomed the reports and have been creating awareness in the USA. On several forums and meeting and through petitions they have demanded implementation of these two reports. Besides, Indian Muslim Relief and Charities (IMRC), Indian Muslim Council (IMC), Muslim American Society (MAS) and Aligarh Alumni Association of Washington DC have been demanding the same. Indian Muslim Federation (UK), Council of Indian Muslims (UK) and Aligarh Alumni Association of New England have welcomed these reports and have been creating awareness about them in the public on many forums.

Muslims in Gulf countries watch developments in India closely. Some prominent organizations there have welcomed these two reports and have demanded their proper implementation. These are: Federation of Indian Muslims Associations (FIMA) and Indo-Kuwait Friendship Society (IKFS).

#### FOREIGN COUNTRIES

In February 2011, at the Commonwealth Law Conference at Hyderabad, Akram Sheikh, senior advocate and former president of the Supreme Court Bar Association of Pakistan lauded the steps of the Indian government in setting up of the Sachar Committee and regretted that there had been no such efforts in Pakistan. He informed that the Pakistan Supreme Court had demanded the setting up of such a panel so that facts would come out. He hoped that implementation of the SCR would create greater harmony in India and solve problems of minorities.<sup>99</sup>

Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu, former secretary general of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC), acknowledged that India had historical and cultural relations with Islam and the Islamic world. However, since Partition of the subcontinent, condition of Muslims in India have deteriorated. He said that a government report, called the SCR, had confirmed that Muslims in India suffered very poor representation in various government jobs and had limited access to education, health and economic progress. However, Muslims in India had been able to overcome many difficulties.

In an article titled 'The India That Does Not Shine', Thomas

Blom Hansen, Professor at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Amsterdam, welcomed the SCR. He said that the work of the committee was both remarkable and deeply disturbing in its documentation of decades of systematic neglect, non-action and open exclusion of Muslims from virtually every facet of life in India. He also said that the SCR would compel the government to calibrate future initiatives to (re-)incorporate Muslims into Indian society and in order to qualify a debate on minorities that 'largely revolved around perception and rhetoric'. Likewise prominent foreign writers and scholars welcomed the SCR and said that the report would benefit the minority Muslims in India.

#### ACADEMICIANS' REACTION

The academic fraternity has welcomed the contents of the SCR. They say the report has attempted to understand the exclusion of Muslims in the policy space by moving away from 'identity' and 'security' question to concerns pertaining to 'development' and 'participation'. They hope that the SCR would help improve equality, liberty and justice for Muslims as committed in the Constitution. On the other hand, intellectuals of the Right Wing background have questioned the content of the SCR and say that whole exercise was done to provide reservation to Muslims.

#### LEGAL REACTION

##### PIL IN OPPOSITION: HIGH COURTS

Ravindra Kumar filed a PIL through Rashtriya Mukti Morcha (RMM), an NGO, which alleged that the SCR and government's follow-up action were unconstitutional.<sup>100</sup> In January 2008, another PIL was filed in the Delhi High Court by advocate P.N. Lekhi, on behalf of Patriots' Forum against the SCR. In the PIL, Lekhi sought to know whether the SCR had not treated the Muslims in a manner inconsistent with the treatment given to other minorities; whether it was tainted with the logic of racial compartmentalization and communitarianism; whether Muslims who ruled

the peninsula could be treated as a minority; and whether it did not degenerate into the process initiated by the 'pre-August 14, 1947, days of collecting Muslims under the banner of Islam'. He wished to know whether the terms of reference of the Sachar Committee were not an extension of the 'Pakistan resolution of 1940 made in Lahore'.<sup>101</sup> On 5 March 2008, Lekhi appeared for the RMM and asked the court to restrain the government from implementing the SCR as it was under challenge. Allowing his argument, the bench asked the Home and Minority ministry to file a detailed affidavit by 26 March 2008.<sup>102</sup> On 27 March 2008, the court joined these two PILs and transferred them to a bench. It came up for hearing before the new bench on 12 May 2008. Lekhi appeared for both the PILs and argued that the SCR was a blatant violation of the Constitution. The centre argued that the PIL was frivolous and the court should reject it. It said, 'This is a political issue which cannot be decided in the court. It is to be decided by the people in election.'<sup>103</sup> Finally, the Court passed an order to post the WP for admission on 21 August 2008 along with the application of intervention of Akhil Bharat Hindu Mahasabha.<sup>104</sup>

On 21 January 2009, during the hearing, on 'Pakistan Resolution Remark', the Bench asked Lekhi to maintain dignity and restrict his argument to the disputed points of the SCR.<sup>105</sup> On 16 December 2009, the court ruled that it would examine the constitutional validity of the setting up of the Sachar Committee. The court also asked the RMM to amend the petition and mention that point in it and asked the centre to respond to it on the next date of hearing.<sup>106</sup> On 14 July 2010, the centre filed an affidavit and justified its policy of preferential treatment to the members of the Muslim community on the basis of Sachar Committee recommendations and said no special favour was being bestowed on them. The affidavit said the 'inclusive growth' was required to mainstream the group which were lagging behind.<sup>107</sup> These PILs have since been pending hearing at the court of the Chief Justice of the Delhi High Court. PILs against the SCR have also been filed in the High Courts of Bombay, AP and Gujarat. All these cases have now been clubbed and referred to the Supreme Court. All those cases were then likely to be heard by the Supreme Court.<sup>108</sup>



## PIL IN OPPOSITION: THE SUPREME COURT

A PIL was also filed in the SCI that sought a direction to restrain the centre from implementing the SCR. B.P. Singhal, the counsel for the petitioner, argued that affirmative action was possible for uplift of the SCs, STs and other weaker sections but no selective discrimination could be made in favour of a community on the basis of religion. A three-judge Bench, headed by then Chief Justice K.G. Balakrishnan told the petitioner, 'You want us to set aside the report. It is not possible. We won't restrain the government from implementing the report. We will not interfere. Why don't you apprise the government of your grievances? You can't challenge a report or its recommendations. If you are aggrieved by a specific government action, you can challenge that.' The Bench pointed out that the committee was set up in 2005, then why the petitioner was challenging so late. The counsel then withdrew the petition and the Bench dismissed it as withdrawn.<sup>109</sup>

## PIL IN SUPPORT: THE SUPREME COURT

Noor Mohammad, a social worker from Raichur, Karnataka filed a PIL in the Supreme Court demanding implementation of the SCR. Besides the union government, 30 states had been made party. While filed in 2011, it was admitted on 27 August 2012. After issuing notices to the GoI and states the hearing was fixed on 30 October 2012. When I traced and talked to the petitioner, he said that he had left pursuing the petition due to financial problem and revealed that it was too costly to frequently go to Delhi and follow up the petition. He says, 'Would that I were rich, I would have pursued the suit till its end'. He exclaimed with regret that he couldn't get any support from the Muslim community. Mohiuddeen, an online commentator says, 'We salute Noor Mohammad for his positive step'.<sup>110</sup> The PIL is still pending in the Court.<sup>111</sup>

While one PIL was filed in support of the SCR, several PILs were filed to get the SCR declared unconstitutional and also to oppose its implementation. While Noor Mohammad stopped the follow up due to financial considerations, PILs filed against the SCR are still pending in the court and these petitioners are

vigorously pursuing them. In fact, this is according to the well-planned strategy of the Right Wing organizations to keep Muslims backward and to oppose every affirmative action for empowerment.

#### INDIVIDUALS REACTIONS

M. Rajaque Rahman, a social activist, writes, it is a national tragedy that policy makers need SCR to realize that Muslims are still backward. The bigger tragedy is that the UPA government hasn't done anything genuinely to implement it. The SCR and other subsequent reports expose UPA's agenda of ensuring that Muslims remain backward enough to play into its vote bank politics. He argues that the game-plan is to keep the community subjugated and at the same time present a Muslim-friendly face.<sup>112</sup>

R. Jagannathan, referring to Salman Khurshid's statement that the SCR is not the Quran, says that the SCR is responsible in giving Muslims a permanent sense of victimhood even when things are improving on ground. He enumerates six reasons to question the SCR or to look at it critically. These are: (1) Not religion but the location is responsible for low economic status of Muslims; (2) It has built a case for discrimination by looking at areas where the numbers are stacked against the community; (3) Sachar did not mention about role models and success stories of the community; (4) Its data is highly biased; (5) The lower economic status of Muslims in India is the result of Partition as the rich, educated and the brightest left for Pakistan and its omission in the SCR is a serious error; and (6) It completely ignored the internal factors that might be holding back Muslims. However, at the end he agrees that this is not to deny that Muslims face discrimination. They need special treatment on the basis of their lower representation in all government employment and economic activities.<sup>113</sup>

Abdur Rahman Yusuf Shaikh, an Urdu columnist from Bhiwandi explains that by constituting the Sachar Committee, the UPA scratched deep wounds of Muslims and now it is rubbing salt on it. The government is not providing any treatment and on the contrary it is increasing the woes of Muslims. The need of the hour is to implement the major provisions of these reports.<sup>114</sup>

Abdul Sathar Uchil from Dubai says that after so much of allegiance with the Congress, the community achieved pages of the SCR. No constructive action has been taken by the successive central governments. Muslims are used as pawns in the game of politics. Padmanabha from Mangalore commenting on this says that the community which was reserved only to celebrate the victory party and paste the posters of the Congress for the last six decades, has gained some maturity now. In the UP election (2012), Muslims have shown that they have alternatives. With figures, Jaffar from Ullal, said since the SCR had been presented in the Parliament, except the BJP and Shiv Sena that had 125 MPs out of 542 MPs in the Lok Sabha, no one had opposed to the implementation of the SCR. Then, why did the Congress not implement it, when it had absolute majority? It was true that the Congress was not committed to the implementation of the SCR.

Prominent intellectuals, scholars, Sachar Committee members especially Justice Sachar, Abusaleh Shariff, Zafar Mahmood, Rakesh Basant, T.K. Oomen, most of the Muslim MPs, MLAs and journalists have welcomed and defended the contents of the Report and have demanded their implementation in letter and spirit.

## CONCLUSION

In the last chapter of the SCR, the committee expected that the recommendations would receive the attention of the central and state governments and would be implemented with all the earnestness and thoroughness that they deserve. The committee also expected that the report would invoke a positive response from the Civil Society, which would ensure that the policy measures introduced by the state in pursuance of these recommendations receive full support and active cooperation from all sections of the society, including the Muslim community.

Eleven years of experience shows that the CSGs have been neutral as to the implementation of the SCR. The central as well as state governments have not been serious in implementing the vital recommendations as they are not committed to it. They have not shown the 'earnestness' and 'thoroughness' that the SCR deserved.

The Muslim community is fed up with the 'lip service' and 'rhetoric' of these parties. The community has been doing genuine effort for it. But in the absence of government support, these are going in vain. May be the community has to change its overall strategies.<sup>115</sup> The discussion presented here will certainly help the community members/activists to form a coherent view that will lead them to make strategies for proper implementation of the reports.

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## CHAPTER 4

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# Minorities and their Rights

Almost always, the creative and dedicated minority has made the world better.

MARTIN LUTHER KING (1929-68)

## INTRODUCTION

The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* defines the word 'minority' as: 'A small group within a community or country that is different because of race, religion, language, etc.' The United Nations (UN) defines it by giving an inclusive description, 'The term "minority" includes only those non-dominant groups in a population which possess and wish to preserve stable, ethnic, religious or linguistic traditions or characteristics markedly different from the majority population'. Thus we infer that minorities are numerically inferior compared to the main population; non-dominant groups and who wish to preserve their separate identity.

It is widely felt and accepted that minorities have contributed a lot to the social, cultural, religious, economic and linguistic development of the states they live in. They contribute to the rich diversity nationally, regionally and internationally. The UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National, Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minority says that the promotion and protection of the rights of persons belonging to such minorities contribute to the political and social stability of the countries in which they live. Framework Convention for Protection of National Minorities European Council's Instrument says that the protection of national minorities is essential to stability, democratic security and peace in a nation. It also says that a pluralistic and genuinely democratic

society should not only respect the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of each person belonging to a national minority, but also create appropriate conditions enabling them to express, preserve and develop this identity. In any state, the faith and confidence of the minorities in the functioning of the state in an impartial manner is an acid test of its being a just state.

Mahatma Gandhi said, 'A civilization can be judged by the way it treats its minorities'. Lord Acton said, 'The most certain test by which we judge whether a country is really free is the amount of security enjoyed by minorities'. Nehru remarked, 'How shall we promote the unity of India and yet preserve the rich diversity!' In Ambedkar's perspective, 'Real liberty of action exists only where exploitation has been annihilated, where no suppression of one class by another exists, where there is no unemployment, no poverty and where a person is free from the fear of losing his job, his home and his food as a consequence of his action'.

The discourses on minorities have inspired the UN, its associate bodies and some regional associations to come out with international instruments – legal as well as consultative – to protect the rights of the minorities. Freedom struggle inspired our leaders to adopt a constitution with provisions which could protect the rights of all citizens including minorities. The Constitution of India contains many articles which are dedicated to protect the rights of religious minorities. Besides, few committees and commissions have been constituted to examine the condition of minorities.

However, the minorities in India, as in other parts of the world, are subjected to persecution, multiple deprivation and discrimination. They face discrimination in economic, educational, employment, political and spatial aspects. The discrimination creates marginalization which in turn, accelerates the process of being left out of education and employment. In this background, there is need of true and genuine effort to eliminate discrimination and bring minorities in the mainstream.<sup>1</sup> This chapter will examine various rights – legal as well institutional – available to minorities on international and national level and its current situation in India.

## RIGHTS OF MINORITIES: INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCR) estimate suggests that 10 to 20 per cent of the world's population (600 million to 1.2 billion) belong to minorities of different categories. These people require special measures for protection of their rights. Minority right on international level covers: (1) Protection of existence; (2) Protection from persecution and discrimination; (3) Protection and promotion of identity; and (4) Participation in political life. The UN has framed legal instruments and formed some important bodies for the protection of minorities.

*The United Nations Charter, 1945*

ARTICLE 2: Everyone should be subject to equal treatment and no distinction of any kind on the basis of race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

*The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966*

ARTICLE 27: In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the rights, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion or to use their own language.

*The UN Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, 1992*

ARTICLE 1: The states shall protect the existence and identity of all minorities and shall adopt appropriate and other measures to achieve those ends.

ARTICLE 2: Persons belonging to minorities have the right to enjoy their own culture, profess their own religion and to use their language without any interference and discrimination.

*The UN Declaration against all forms of Religious  
Discrimination and Intolerance, 1981*

ARTICLE 1: Every individual shall have the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

ARTICLE 2: No one shall be discriminated by the states or other groups on the grounds of religion or belief.

Besides legal provisions, the UN has international bodies which include in their working the protection and development of minorities of all kinds. These are: (1) The UN Working Group on Minorities (1995), (2) International Labour Organization (ILO), (3) The United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO: 1946), (4) The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Besides, there are various regional bodies and organizations which are working for minorities. India has ratified or is signatory to the following international covenants:

1. Convention on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD): Ratified, 4 January 1969
2. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Ratified, 10 July 1979
3. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR): Ratified, 10 July 1979
4. Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC): Ratified, 5 October 1990
5. Convention on Elimination of Discrimination Against Women: Ratified, 8 August 1993
6. Convention Against Torture (CAT): Signed, 14 August 1997.<sup>2</sup>

#### MINORITIES AND THEIR RIGHTS IN INDIA

In India, the term 'minority' assumes different meanings to different people in different context. It has not been defined in the Constitution. The Constitution uses the word 'minorities' or its plural form in Articles 29 to 30 and 350A to 350B. Article 29 has the word 'minorities' in its marginal heading. It speaks of 'any section of citizen having a distinct language, script and culture' which could be either an entire community or a group perceived

to be a minority within a majority community. Article 30 speaks of two categories of minorities – religious and linguistic, while Articles 350A and 350B relate to linguistic minorities. As per section 2(c) of the National Commission for Minorities Act, 1992, five communities had been declared as minority communities, viz. Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Zoroastrians (Parsis). Recently Jain community has been included in the list. Unlike in the USA or European countries, where minorities are racial or national in nature, minorities in India are of religious nature.<sup>3</sup>

Among the minorities Muslims are the dominant group and they constitute 14.22 per cent of the total population. If we analyse the state-wise population of minorities in 29 states and 7 UTs, we come across some interesting facts. Muslims are in majority among the minority groups in 24 of the states/UTs. Christians are in majority among the minority groups in 10 states. In Punjab and Chandigarh the Sikhs and in Sikkim the Buddhists are in majority among the minorities. The Christians are in absolute majority in Nagaland (90 per cent), Mizoram (87 per cent) and Meghalaya (70.3 per cent).

#### JAINS IN THE MINORITY LIST

The Jain community in India, though numerically inferior, is a dominant community in terms of social, economic and educational status. Based mostly in urban centres of western India, their population is now estimated at around 44.5 lakh which is 0.37 per cent of India's total population. The literacy rate among them is 94.88 per cent, which is much higher than the national average. Community leaders and various organizations had been struggling to get minority status for Jains on national level. On 19 January 2014, Congress vice-president Rahul Gandhi spoke to the then PM Manmohan Singh and urged him to include Jains in the centre's minority list when a delegation of Jain leaders had met him. On 20 January 2014, the cabinet granted minority status to Jains. Thus, Jains became the sixth community that has been included in the list besides other five communities. Now as a recognized minority, they can get a share in central funds earmarked for welfare for minorities. They can also manage and administer their own educational institutions.

Sumit Paul, a columnist, writes that though Indian philosophy calls it atheistic (like Buddhism), all the followers of Jainism and its primary sects, Digambar and Shwetambar, follow the religious tenets of Hinduism and worship the Hindu deities apart from theirs. He writes, 'The Jains, who are screaming to get minority status, must know that original Jainism that came into being 2600 years ago, advised its followers to put the mortal remains of a person in the flowing water of a river unlike the way Hindus dispose the dead bodies by burning them. Don't the "minority" followers of Jainism burn the dead bodies like "majority" Hindus? VHP, RSS and BJP leaders have, time and again, reiterated that Jain community is the part of Hindu religion. The followers of Jainism are Hindus when it is required and they are Jains if the need so arises. Paul says, 'Jain community in India getting the minority status is a classic case of eating the cake and having it too'.<sup>4</sup>

A similar view is that 'minorityism' comes from a sense of non-dominance, deprivation and discrimination. It is not related to numerical strength. The Jains are a dominant business community. Its socio-economic and educational condition is far better than that of the Muslim community, the main constituent of the minority list. Jains become part of the Hindutva brigade when it comes to oppose Muslims in matters of animal slaughter and press the government to close down authorized slaughter houses. Numerically they are in a minority but in practice they share many tenets of the majority community. The decision has not gone down well with a section of the Muslim intelligentsia who feel expanding the list without an economic eligibility criterion or a model for better implementation can cause the Muslim community to lose out. In just one year, the Jain community realized that the benefits of minority schemes were cornered by Muslims. They complained to the government about Muslim appeasement and in a hurry the Modi government has constituted a panel to assess the socio-economic conditions of five minorities except Muslims.

## CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

ARTICLE 19: Protection of certain rights pertaining to freedom of speech, movement, assembly, association, to form unions, etc.

ARTICLE 25: Freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion.

ARTICLE 26: Freedom to manage religious affairs.

ARTICLE 27: Freedom as to payment of taxes for promotion of any particular religion.

ARTICLE 28: Freedom as to attendance at religious instruction or religious worship in certain educational institutions.

ARTICLE 29(1): People having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same.

ARTICLE 29(2): No discrimination in admission to any educational institutions maintained by the state on the grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

ARTICLE 30: Right of minorities to establish and administer educational institutions.

ARTICLE 350A: Facilities for instruction in mother tongue at primary stage.

Besides, there are legal framework for Protection of Minorities and their rights. These are: (1) Protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955 (The law enforcing agencies harbour a misconception that this Act has been enacted to protect only SCs in untouchability related offences. If a SC/ST convert to Islam and Christianity or any other person is subjected to untouchability, the offenders may be booked under this Act.); (2) The NCM Act, 1992; and (3) The National Commission for Minority Educational Institutions Act, 2004. A separate ministry, the MMA, has been created for more focused approach towards issues relating to minorities and overall policy formulation and implementations of development schemes.

While all these safeguards have remained on paper, in practical terms, the last 70 years of independent India is ridden with numerous communal riots, humiliation and discrimination leading to more exclusion and alienation of minorities especially Muslims. After the riots that followed the Ramjanmabhoomi movement, Babri Masjid demolition, the Gujarat pogrom, Kandhamal riots and various major communal riots, the minorities feel alienated and many a times consider themselves to be second-class citizens.<sup>5</sup>

## REACTION OF INTERNATIONAL WATCHDOGS

The United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF), in its Annual Report for 2009-10 released in 2010, expressed concern over communal riots and state of justice for minorities in India. USCIRF admits that India is a critically important country for various reasons. It is the world's largest democracy; has a rich history of religious pluralism; peaceful existence of different religious groups and its rising stature on global stage. Especially mentioning attacks on Christians in Orissa in 2007 and the slow pace of justice for victims of communal riots in Gujarat, the report said justice for victims of communal violence was slow and often ineffective, thereby perpetuating a climate of impunity. It put India on the watch list, as the response of the government at the local and state level was ineffective and the national government failed to take effective measures on time. It urged the US government to encourage and assist India to undertake measures to halt communal violence against minorities and ensure justice through timely investigation and prosecution.<sup>6</sup> The USCIRF in its annual report of 2013, released in May 2014, mentioned Muzaffarnagar violence, struggles of Christians and Muslim Dalits to get SC status, slow pace of justice for communal violence in Gujarat and Odisha. The report recommended the US government to include religious freedom concerns in its bilateral relations with India.<sup>7</sup> Its 2014 Annual Report mentioned reports of religiously motivated killings, arrests, coerced religious conversions, religiously motivate riots and actions restricting the right of individuals to change religious beliefs. It said, 'In some cases, local police failed to respond effectively to communal violence, including attacks against religious minorities, although local officials used broad authorities to deploy police and security forces to control outbreaks of religiously motivated violence'.<sup>8</sup> In its 2015 Annual Report, the commission says that religious tolerance has deteriorated and religious freedom violations have increased in 2015. It blamed 'Hindu nationalist groups' for intimidation, harassment and violence on minority communities, especially Christians, Muslims and Sikhs. The report also says, 'The Muslim commu-



nity in India reported increased harassment, violence and targeted hate campaigns. Muslims often are accused of being terrorists; spying for Pakistan; forcible kidnapping, converting and marrying Hindu women; and disrespecting Hinduism by slaughtering cows'.<sup>9</sup> Its 2017 Annual Report (April 2017) alleged that 10 of the 29 Indian states are suffering from severe religious rights violations and blamed Hindu nationalist groups for the situation. The commission said that it would continue to monitor the situation in India. It designates Egypt, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan as 'Countries of Particular Concern'. It keeps India on the 'Watch List' meaning the country which 'require[s] very close attention' for its violations of religious freedoms.

Human Rights Watch (HRW) released its World Report 2014 and reviewed human rights conditions in more than 90 countries. The report says India has strong legislation to protect human rights but entrenched corruption and lack of accountability on the part of administration and security forces foster human rights violations. During 2013, the authorities also failed to enforce laws that protected vulnerable communities including Dalits, religious minorities and tribal groups. It also highlights several cases of extra-judicial killings and urged the Indian government to end violence against women and minorities.<sup>10</sup>

In 2011, two US lawmakers – Republican Frank Wolf (R-VA) and Anna Eshoo (D-CA) – reintroduced the legislation H.R.301 titled 'To provide for the establishment of the special envoy to promote freedom of religion in the near and South Central Asia' to give authority to the US to keep watch on violation of minority rights in other countries. With such an envoy in place, the US would watch persecution of religious minorities and speak out on their behalf. The envoy would watch the violations of religious freedom and try to address those concerns. The legislation promised religious freedom for minorities world over.<sup>11</sup> America has deep suspicion that many people related to RSS have taken part in terrorist activities against the minorities. So, America is appointing a special envoy to keep watch on activities of the RSS and its affiliates.<sup>12</sup> Further detail is not known about these legislations.

Recent decades have seen the rise of religious nationalism and

Hindutva movement in India which has contributed to the targeting of vulnerable minorities – Muslims, Dalits, Tribals, Christians and Sikhs. Realizing this, Azad Forum for Social Justice organized a panel discussion on the topic ‘Is intolerance on the rise in India?’ at the University of Texas at Austin on 25 February 2014.<sup>13</sup>

The close watch, scrutiny and reaction of these international watchdogs have been very helpful in maintaining and preserving rights of minorities all over the world. These watchdogs publish reports on the condition of minorities which are read and discussed in academic circles. USA, UNO, European Union and other international associations take cognizance of these reports and issue advisory to the concerned countries. Ban on foreign investment, trade and economic sanctions, ban on UN assistance, etc., result due to adverse findings of these reports.

#### MINORITY AND MINORITYISM

Numerical strength is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for a group to be declared as minority. A group with numerical disadvantage may exist without experiencing itself as a minority, either politically or socially or culturally. The constitution of minority is dependent upon two factors. First, self-perception of a group that it has some disadvantages which other groups do not have and second, discriminatory or hostile treatment meted out by the majority. The minority was the creation of popular politics during the colonial period. In an essay, M.J. Akbar asks, ‘Did the Muslims of India consider themselves as a minority under Mughal rule? Did the Muslims of Hyderabad, never more than 10 or 11 per cent of the population, consider themselves a minority when their fellow – Muslims, the Nizams were in power?’<sup>14</sup>

Numerically Muslims have always been a minority. But did they consider themselves as a minority when political power was with them? The answer is no. Minority and majority are not related with numerical strength but a sense of participation in the activities of the government, with empowerment and equal treatment. If a community receives equal treatment and feel empowered, it does not see itself as a minority. Brahmins in India, although numeri-

cally far inferior, do not consider themselves as a minority as they are very close to political power and they always feel empowered.

If Muslims receive equal treatment and feel empowered – politically, economically and socially – they would not see themselves as a minority group. Minorityism comes from the sense of non-participation in the governance. It is also the duty of the state to alleviate the feeling of minorityism from all groups – social, religious, linguistic, etc. – by providing equal opportunity, ensuring equal treatment and providing secured atmosphere.

#### MUSLIM APPEASEMENT: MYTH OR REALITY

As defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, ‘appeasement’ (or *tushtikaran* in Hindi) is an act to make somebody calmer or less angry by giving them what they want. This word was first time used, extensively, before World War. In the Indian context, it is referred to the so-called pampered treatment given to Muslims by the government. BJP, RSS, VHP and other Hindutva organizations accuse the Congress and other regional/secular parties that they appease Muslims for their votes. There is a talk and discontent in the majority community or at least in some factions of them that Muslims, because of their vote bank get pampered treatment and are looked after by political parties. But, does appeasement exist? Scholars and community leaders claim ‘Muslim appeasement’ is nothing but a created political myth. This has been created to frighten and thus stop the government from providing any socio-economic benefit for the progress of Muslims. The SCR has exposed the myth of Muslim appeasement through its strong findings.

If Muslims had been appeased and successive governments had given them pampered treatment, would have they been in such pathetic state as they are today? An analysis of Muslims condition becomes necessary. The sense of insecurity, created by many factors, always kept Muslims preoccupied and they could not concentrate on the socio-economic development. They have been subjected to discrimination, alienation, denial and deprivation. In

hundreds of riots, mostly during Congress rule, thousands of Muslims have been killed. Keeping Muslims behind bars without trial and without due process and killing them in the name of 'war on terror' is a regular phenomenon. Muslims have low level of education compared to national average and very low participation in IITs, IIMs and other premier colleges. More than 12 per cent of the Muslims work on the street compared to the national average of 8 per cent. Muslims representation in government employment is abnormally low. According to the SCR, 'There is a clear reverse association between the Muslim population and availability of the educational infrastructure in villages.'<sup>15</sup>

Do these figures show special favour or appeasement? These figures indicate marginalization, suffering, humiliation and exploitation but not appeasement. An analysis finds that the feeling of 'Muslim appeasement' arises mainly because of three reasons:

1. Muslims suffer during communal riots in terms of lives, property and livelihoods. Rehabilitation measures, although small in quantity, are meant for Muslims, thus they are termed as appeasement.
2. Discrimination and denial have created a huge gap between socio-economic condition of Muslims and other groups. The government takes some initiatives to fill the gap. Although these are not special favours, they are termed as appeasement.
3. The Presidential Order of 1950 denies SC status to Muslims and Christians by practicing religious discrimination. If government takes some affirmative action to compensate the injustice, it is termed as appeasement.<sup>16</sup>

One should understand that rehabilitation of riot victims, initiatives to uplift poor and affirmative action to compensate injustice are basic civic and human rights of Muslims. These are not appeasement at all.

On 22 February 2010, T.K. Oomen strongly rejected the idea that Muslims had been appeased. He said that the concept of Muslim appeasement was nothing but a myth otherwise the Muslim community wouldn't have been in such a pathetic condition.

A study by Rakesh Basant says, 'Muslims carry the double burden of being labeled as anti-nationalist and being appeased at the same time.' Muslims need quota more than Hindu OBCs.<sup>17</sup> Former Chief Justice of India A.M. Ahmadi notes that Muslims are at the top of the list of the oppressed and any attempts made for their welfare is wrongly labelled as 'appeasement'. BJP raises the antenna of appeasement the moment any affirmative action is taken to improve their socio-economic condition.<sup>18</sup>

The Congress ruled India for more than 54 years since Independence yet why are Muslims more backward and poorer on most socio-economic parameters? The SCR reveals that the minority 'tokenism' has harmed rather than helped Muslims. Scholars say that it kept the Congress in power but Muslims in poverty. The other principle culprits are the Muslim leaders and *ulema* who seek control over the community and are not interested in its real empowerment. They demand such things from the government that are religious in nature which can be easily termed as 'appeasement'.<sup>19</sup> Iftar parties by political parties, shawl offering by leaders in *dargahs*, calling leaders (CM and ministers, etc.) to see off the Hajj flights, wearing of skull cap by non-Muslim leaders during community functions, calling bearded Muslims (although they may not know a thing about politics) on the political stage, token announcements, etc., are some of these measures. They can't empower the community but can easily be labelled as appeasement by saffron elements.

In my view, there is no reality in 'Muslim appeasement' rather it is a myth created by BJP, Hindutva forces and a section of the media. There does exist tokenism, Muslim marginalization, lip-service and vote bank greed. Measures of Muslim progress are small and selective, often related to identity. Such actions make the Hindutva forces' claim of Muslim appeasement seem more credible to the majority community. These identity markers often lead to suspicion and discrimination by majority community and institutions. Today Muslims want no special but equal treatment. They do not want favours and lollipops from the government or political parties. They need justice and fair share of the pie with dignity in accordance with their share in the population.<sup>20</sup>

## INTERNATIONAL MINORITY RIGHTS DAY

IMRD is observed on 18 December as the UNO had adopted the Declaration on Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic minorities on 18 December 1992. It reminds the states that cultural, religious, linguistic and national identity of the minorities shall be respected and protected within the states. Besides, Minority Rights Groups (MRG) and activists face high level of risk as they are targeted for their identity as well as for their work. The day also reminds that providing security to them is the duty of the state.

Earlier, people or the governments were not aware about it. Now its significance is picking up. The MMA advertises the day and highlights the commitment of the MMA and its major achievements.<sup>21</sup> The NCM and state minority commissions celebrate the day to create awareness about minority rights and their protection as well as to bring better understanding among religious minorities in India. State minority commissions also direct all other departments especially police department to observe the day to create awareness about the rights of the minorities.

Although the MMA, NCM and state minority commissions celebrate IMRD by organizing awareness programmes and seminars, yet a general apathy is seen in other departments of the government. State governments direct subordinate departments to celebrate the day, but it is hardly done. For example, no function was organized by Nanded district administration in 2012. When some minority NGOs agitated before the collector's office, the district collector accepted his mistake and apologized. In 2013, the district collector did organize a function but non-seriousness was evident as few people attended the function as they had not been informed in advance. During the programme people discussed the PM's 15-PP but no minority rights awareness programme was held.<sup>22</sup> Similar response comes from the police department which is responsible for the maximum number of cases of violations of minority rights. In Maharashtra, the Director General of Police (DGP) office, every year, directs the Superintendent of Police (SP), Commissioners of Police (CP) and Range Inspector General of

Police (IGP) to organize awareness programmes on the occasion. A general apathy is seen. At most places, it is not celebrated. A few districts and police stations celebrate the day but non-seriousness is evident from the way it is organized.

#### REAL SITUATION

Despite sufficient constitutional safeguards, minorities in India are discriminated against and their rights are more than frequently violated and Muslims in particular suffer from development deficit. The PSEC in its interim report points out that the Muslim's development lag is huge and they have not benefited much from the government schemes. Just before the General Elections in 2014, a delegation of Muslim leaders handed over a memorandum to Smt. Sonia Gandhi. It said that there was a large perception that government had continued to disregard the community's concern over the arrest of thousands of innocent youths on trumped up terror charges, despite several acquittals during that period after the accused had spent in some cases even 18 years in prison.<sup>23</sup>

Communal riots particularly anti-Muslim riots have been taking place on a regular basis. A spurt in riots was seen in UP, Bihar and other parts of the country as the 2014 election had come closer. In most of the cases state governments did not take strict and effective action. Then central government became a mute spectator and did not do anything beyond visiting the riot affected people. Despite demands from all quarters the union government didn't pass the Communal Violence Bill. Evangelical Fellowship of India and Religious Liberty Commission released the data of Christian persecution. As many as 154 incidents of anti-Christian violence were reported in 2013. Women, rural pastors and home churches were the main targets of mobs which were often led by members of the Sangh Parivar. They claimed that in most of the cases culprits went unpunished due to police inaction.<sup>24</sup>

#### CURRENT SITUATION

When the present regime came at the centre in 2014, the people of India hoped that the new government would observe *Rajdharma*

in governance by taking all Indians irrespective of their religion, caste, creed and gender together with it in the inclusive development of the country. Muslims hoped that Modi would prove himself as the PM of the whole nation and try to restore the confidence of the weaker sections of Indian society, especially Muslims. The slogan of Modi 'Sab ka saath, sab ka vikas' and his reply to the address of the president in the Lok Sabha and his positive statements about Muslims had created some hope in the Muslim community. However, in the three-and-half years of the Modi regime, these hopes have died down and Muslims are feeling excluded, unsafe and further marginalized due to sustained anti-Muslim campaigns. Issues of purported 'love-jihad', communal tensions on various pretext, anti-Muslim riots, clamour on meat eating, violence in the name of cow protection, mob lynching, hate speech of several Hindutva leaders including some in the government and the issue of forcible conversion of poor and illiterate Muslims and Christians under so-called 'Ghar Wapsi' programme have created much tension and anxiety in the minds of Muslims.

There have been deliberate attempt by Hindutva outfits to vitiate the atmosphere by creating communal tension on account of various issues. Over 500 communal riots had been reported in UP at different places in the year 2014 particularly on smaller issues such as noise of loudspeakers, petty squabbles, village land disputes particularly common properties, cow slaughter or beef eating.<sup>25</sup> These are being done with the sole objective of communal polarization and intimidating Muslims. Love affairs and subsequent marriages between a Muslim boy and a Hindu girl have been portrayed as 'love-jihad'. This issue has blown out of proportion for communal polarization to get political benefits. Even communal riots have taken place due to this manufactured reason. A term 'Ghar Wapsi' has been manufactured which is nothing but the forcible conversion of poor Muslims and Christians to Hinduism under threat of violence and social boycott. This issue is basically the distortion of facts that suits the agenda of the Sangh Parivar. Then come hate speeches and statements that create hate. Hate mongers like Sakshi Maharaj, Giriraj Singh, Yogi Adityanath, Niranjan Jyoti, etc., have been in the forefront. They have repeatedly been giving speeches and statements that level unsubstantiated charges against Mus-



lims. These leaders demonstrated the worst type of bad public manners and mischievous conduct. They should face the law of the land for their hate speeches yet they roam freely and are much in demand for electioneering. Strict actions have not been taken against these leaders although they tried to vitiate the atmosphere. Ignoring constitutional values, these leaders have been rewarded politically by the centre.

In this regime open threats have been given to Muslims by leaders of the BJP and members of the Sangh Parivar. In a meeting held at Agra in February 2016, Muslims were equated to 'demons' and 'descendants of Ravana' and warned of a 'final battle'. Minister of State, HRD and BJP Agra MP Ram Shankar Katheria as well as Fatehpur Sikri MP Babu Lal were present in the meeting who joined in the threats to Muslims.<sup>26</sup> In response to that incident over 100 people gathered in Delhi under the banner of 'I am a Muslim, come kill me' to protest against the hate speeches of those leaders. The activists alleged that the leaders abused the local administration also. However, the incident was not denounced by the responsible persons in the government.<sup>27</sup>

Then happened the killings and beatings in the name of beef eating and cow slaughter. It led to the murder of Mohammad Akhlaq in Dadri in September 2015. He was beaten to death over the rumours that his family had eaten beef. The Dadri incident became a sort of barometer of growing intolerance in the country which prompted many eminent writers, scientists and filmmakers to return their prestigious awards.<sup>28</sup> In March 2016, a frenzied mob hanged two cattle traders – Mohammad Mazloom and the 15 years old Azad Khan alias Ibrahim in Latehar district of Jharkhand state.<sup>29</sup> The death of Noman in Sirmour in HP; the death of Zahid Ahmad in Udhampur; brutal beating of two Muslim youths in Mainpuri in UP; and badly injuring a Muslim boy in Bahraich in UP are all the results of sustained campaign in the name of beef eating or cow slaughter.<sup>30</sup> In July 2016, two Muslim women were beaten by Hindu Dal activists in Mandasaur district of MP over the rumour that they were carrying beef.<sup>31</sup> In Vatva village of Gujarat, in September 2016, two youths, Mohammad Ayyub and Sameer Shaikh, were mercilessly beaten by cow vigi-

lantes accusing them of transporting cow.<sup>32</sup> Many states in India have passed legislation on cow slaughter and protection. These legislations have become handy tools to harass and intimidate Muslims. A number of lynchings (killing by mob) were committed by communal criminal gangs between May and August 2017 in the name of eating or carrying beef (mostly manufactured) and sometimes due to the identity of the accused. Although reported from many states, most of such violence happened in BJP-ruled states. Lynching of Pehlu Khan in Alwar (May 2017) and of Junaid of Ballabgarh, Haryana (23 June 2017) caught the attention of media and justice loving Indian citizens. The silence of PM, Home Minister and CMs of many states indirectly encouraged the perpetrators and confirmed their political support and patronage. The Haryana CM took three days to condemn the killing of Junaid and the Rajasthan CM took almost a month to condemn the lynching of Pehlu Khan in Alwar (<http://twocircles.net/2017jul31/414064.html>). Opposition parties accused the NDA government of encouraging organizations that were fanning mob violence. They also cautioned the government against the damage being done to India's image overseas and said 'Hindustan' should not be allowed to become 'Lynchistan'. Even 114 retired senior military officers wrote an open letter to PM Modi and all CMs and condemned lynchings and protested against the prevailing climate of fear, intimidation, hate and suspicion (*The Indian Express*, Pune, 1 August 2017). The government has not accepted the all round demand of a separate law to tackle the cases of lynchings.

Several political leaders have said that minorities have been increasingly feeling insecure in the current regime. Delivering the vote of thanks at the National Conference of the State Commission of Minorities in presence of minister Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi, Additional Secretary in the NCM, Ajoy Kumar, in February 2016, reportedly said 'We all are human beings and we have to sleep and I am unable to sleep (apparently due to insecurity feeling among the minorities)',<sup>33</sup>

Due to all the issues mentioned above, Muslims are unable to concentrate on their socio-economic and educational progress leading to more ghettoization and exclusion.

## CONCLUSION

Minorities, be it religious, linguistic, regional, racial, ethnic, etc., are an integral part of the main population of all countries of the world. Due to numerical inferiority and low political strength they are subjected to deprivation, discrimination and marginalization in a society dominated by majority communities. They need protection and equality in treatment. Providing equal rights to minorities is the true hallmark of a democracy. Protection to minorities is a measure of a country being a civilized nation. But despite ample international and national safeguards, minorities are persecuted and discriminated.

Scholars point out that there is a need to honestly implement the provisions related to rights of the minorities. They should be treated as equals not only by the government but also by the majority community. Justice Sachar points out the need to imbibe appropriate values through textbooks so that religious intolerance, gender biases and inappropriate social values are not taught to students at a tender age. Through seminars, symposiums, discussions and discourse on the topic of discrimination, social exclusion, socio-economic status and rights, a general awareness can be created among the masses and government officials. There should be an effective and permanent provision to check discrimination and targeted violence against minorities. The PSEC has suggested that a law on the lines of the SCs and STs (Prevention of Atrocities) Act be enacted to safeguard the minority communities.<sup>34</sup>

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## Population of Muslims and Related Issues

### INTRODUCTION

Muslims constitute the second largest religious group and the largest religious minority community in India. Muslim population of India is larger than the total population of most countries of the world. It is exceeded only by Indonesia's and close to the Muslim population of Pakistan and Bangladesh. It has always been at centre of controversy and subject of discussion. In March 2015, Muslim population figures and decadal growth was mischievously leaked to the media and the BJP tried to instill fear in the majority community to garner political benefit. However, figures related to other religious groups were not disclosed. It has been proved beyond doubt that population control, family planning and use of contraceptives are fully dependent on socio-economic and educational status of a household and not on religious affiliation.

Population size and growth of Muslims, its spatial distribution, sex-ratios and child sex-ratios are discussed here. Besides, stereotypes about Muslim population and imaginary fear and propaganda of Right Wing Organizations are also discussed. Data pertaining to population of religious groups has been downloaded from official website of the GoI.<sup>1</sup>

### POPULATION SIZE AND GROWTH

Religion-wise data of 2011 census was released in August 2015, according to which population size and share in national population of various religious groups are as under.

TABLE 5.1: POPULATION SIZE AND SHARE IN TOTAL POPULATION FOR VARIOUS SRCs

Religious Groups	Population			% to Total Population
	Male	Female	Total	
India	62,32,70,258	58,75,84,719	1,21,08,54,977	100
Hindu	49,83,06,968	46,79,50,385	96,62,57,353	79.8
Muslim	8,82,73,945	8,39,71,213	17,22,45,158	14.22
Christian	1,37,51,031	1,40,68,557	2,78,19,588	2.3
Sikh	1,09,48,431	98,84,685	2,08,33,116	1.72
Buddhist	42,96,010	41,46,962	84,42,972	0.69
Jain	22,78,097	21,73,656	44,51,753	0.37
ORP*	39,52,064	39,85,670	79,37,734	0.66
RNS*	14,63,712	14,03,591	28,67,303	0.24

Notes: \*ORP: Other Religions and Persuasions & RNS: Religion Not Stated.

As per 2011 census, India's population was 121.085 crore and Hindus constituted 79.8 and Muslims 14.22 per cent of the total population. Christians with 2.3 and Sikh with 1.72 per cent were respectively on 3rd and 4th position. Other related factors are discussed below.

#### POPULATION SIZE OVER THE YEARS

TABLE 5.2: POPULATION SIZE FOR RELIGIOUS GROUPS, 1961-2011

<i>(Population in thousand)</i>								
Year	All	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Buddhist	Jain	Others
1961	4,39,235	3,66,528	46,941	10,728	7,846	3,256	2,027	1,909
1971	5,47,950	4,53,292	61,418	14,223	10,379	3,912	2,605	2,221
1981	6,83,330	5,62,389	80,286	16,696	13,093	4,758	3,222	2,885
1991	8,46,388	6,90,060	1,06,715	19,654	16,426	6,476	3,355	3,701
2001	10,28,610	8,27,579	1,38,188	24,080	19,216	7,955	4,225	7,367
2011	12,10,855	9,66,257	1,72,245	27,820	20,833	8,443	4,452	10,805

Source: Census of India, 2011 and the SCR.

Over the fifty-year-period (1961-2011), the total population tripled from 439 to 1,210 million, an increase of 176 per cent. Muslim population increased from 47 million in 1961 to 172 million in 2011, registering an increase of 266 per cent.

#### POPULATION SHARE OVER THE YEARS

TABLE 5.3: POPULATION SHARE OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS, 1961-2011

<i>(in per cent)</i>								
Year	All	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Buddhist	Jain	Others
1961	100	83.45	10.69	2.44	1.79	0.74	0.46	0.43
1971	100	82.73	11.21	2.60	1.89	0.70	0.48	0.41
1981	100	82.30	11.75	2.44	1.92	0.70	0.47	0.42
1991	100	81.53	12.61	2.32	1.94	0.77	0.40	0.44
2001	100	80.46	13.43	2.34	1.87	0.77	0.41	0.72
2011	100	79.80	14.22	2.30	1.72	0.69	0.37	0.89

*Source:* Census of India, 2011 and the SCR.

In 1961 the share of Muslim population was 10.69 per cent which grew to 14.22 per cent in 2011. During a 50-years period (1961-2011) the Muslim share has risen by 3.53 percentage point (pp).

#### DECADAL GROWTH

TABLE 5.4: DECADAL GROWTH IN POPULATION OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS, 1961-2011

<i>(in per cent)</i>								
Period	All	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Buddhist	Jain	Others
1961-71	24.75	23.67	30.84	32.58	32.28	17.08	28.48	45.74
1971-81	24.71	24.07	30.72	17.38	26.15	24.80	23.71	29.19
1981-91	23.86	22.70	32.92	17.72	25.46	36.13	4.11	15.84
1991-01	21.53	19.93	29.49	22.52	16.98	22.83	25.95	103.09
2001-11	17.71	16.76	24.64	15.53	8.41	6.13	5.37	46.66
1961-2011	175.7	163.62	266.94	159.32	165.5	159.30	119.6	466.00

*Source:* Calculated from Census of India, 2011 and the SCR.

Total population increased from 102.86 to 121.08 crore, between 2001 and 2011, showing a 17.71 per cent decadal growth. In absolute terms, the Hindu population increased from 82.75 to 96.62 crore during the same period. Similarly, the number of Muslims increased to 17.22 from 13.81 crore. Its share increased from 13.43 per cent in 2001 to 14.22 per cent in 2011. The share of Hindu population dropped from 80.46 per cent in 2001 to 79.80 per cent in 2011 registering a decline of 0.66 pp.

The decadal growth of Muslims between 2001 and 2011 is 24.64 per cent which is the highest for any other religious group except for 'Other' group with 46.60 per cent. While decadal growth rates are declining among all religious communities, the decline has been sharper among Muslims than Hindus over the last three decades. It has dropped from 29.49 per cent in 1991-2001 to 24.64 per cent during 2001-11 showing a drop of 4.85 pp which is higher than that of Hindus and the total population. It points to a declining trend in growth of Muslim population.

#### DISTRIBUTION ACROSS STATES AND DISTRICTS

##### DISTRIBUTION IN STATES

Muslims reside in all states and every part of the country. However, their distribution in states varies substantially. Generally, Muslims are concentrated in northern and eastern states like UP, Bihar, WB, Assam, etc. Substantial Muslim population is also found in Maharashtra, Karnataka, AP and Kerala.

Muslim population of UP constitutes 22.34 per cent of total Muslim population in India. Similarly, WB contributes 14.3, Bihar 10.2, Maharashtra 7.5, Assam 6.2 and Kerala 5.2 per cent. UP, WB, Bihar and Maharashtra together constitute 54 per cent of the total Indian Muslim population. According to proportion of Muslims in state with 34.2 per cent, Assam tops the lists after J&K. WB with 27, Kerala 26.6, UP 19.3 and Bihar with 16.9 per cent are other high Muslim concentration states.



TABLE 5.5: MUSLIM POPULATION IN STATES, 2001 AND 2011 CENSUS

*(Population in thousands)*

India/States	Population: 2001 Census			Population: 2011 Census			Decadal Growth	
	Total	Muslim	% of Muslim	Total	Muslim	% of Muslim	Total	Muslim
India	10,28,610	1,38,188	13.43	12,10,855	1,72,245	14.22	17.7	24.6
A&N Islands	356	29	8.22	381	32	8.40	7.0	10.3
Andhra Pradesh	76,210	6,987	9.17	84,581	8,082	9.56	11.0	15.7
Arunachal Pradesh	1,098	21	1.88	1384	27	1.95	26.0	28.6
Assam	26,656	8,241	30.92	31,206	10,679	34.22	17.0	29.6
Bihar	82,999	13,722	16.53	1,04,099	17,558	16.87	25.4	28.0
Chandigarh	901	36	3.95	1055	51	4.83	17.0	41.7
Chhattisgarh	20,834	410	1.97	25,545	515	2.01	22.6	25.6
Dadar & Nagar Haveli	220	7	2.96	344	13	3.78	56.3	85.7
Daman & Diu	158	12	7.76	243	19	7.82	53.8	58.3
Delhi	13,851	1,624	11.72	16,788	2,159	12.86	21.2	32.9
Goa	1,348	92	6.84	1,459	122	8.36	8.2	32.6
Gujarat	50,671	4,593	9.06	60,440	5,847	9.67	19.3	27.3
Haryana	21,145	1,223	5.78	25,351	1,781	7.02	19.9	45.6
Himachal Pradesh	6,078	120	1.97	6,865	150	2.18	12.9	25.0
J&K	10,144	6,793	66.97	12,541	8,567	68.31	23.6	26.1
Jharkhand	26,946	3,731	13.85	32,988	4,794	14.53	22.4	28.5
Karnataka	52,851	6,463	12.23	61,095	7,893	12.92	15.6	22.1
Kerala	31,841	7,864	24.70	33,406	8,873	26.56	4.9	12.8

Lakshadweep	61	58	95.47	64	62	96.88	4.9	6.9
Madhya Pradesh	60,348	3,841	6.37	72,627	4,775	6.57	20.3	24.3
Maharashtra	96,879	10,270	10.60	1,12,374	12,971	11.54	16.0	26.3
Manipur	2,167	191	8.81	2,856	240	8.40	31.8	25.7
Meghalaya	2,319	99	4.28	2,967	130	4.38	27.9	31.3
Mizoram	889	10	1.14	1,097	15	1.36	23.4	50.0
Nagaland	1,990	35	1.76	1,979	49	2.48	-0.6	40.0
Orissa	36,804	762	2.07	41,974	912	2.17	14.0	19.7
Puducherry	974	59	6.09	1,248	76	6.09	28.1	28.8
Punjab	24,359	382	1.57	27,743	535	1.93	13.9	40.0
Rajasthan	56,507	4,788	8.47	68,548	6,215	9.07	21.3	29.8
Sikkim	541	8	1.42	611	10	1.64	12.9	25.0
Tamil Nadu	62,406	3,471	5.56	72,147	4,229	5.86	15.6	21.8
Tripura	3,199	254	7.95	3,674	316	8.60	14.8	24.4
Uttar Pradesh	1,66,198	30,740	18.5	1,99,812	38,484	19.26	20.2	25.2
Uttarakhand	8,489	1,012	11.92	10,086	1,407	13.95	18.8	39.0
West Bengal	80,176	20,241	25.25	91,276	24,655	27.01	13.8	21.8

Sources: Census of India, 2011 and [www.crusadewatch.org](http://www.crusadewatch.org)<sup>2</sup>

In AP, Kerala and many UTs, decadal growth among Muslims has been less than the national average. The most rapid rise in the share of Muslims was witnessed in Assam where it rose from 30.9 per cent in 2001 to 34.2 per cent in 2011. Manipur is the only state where share of Muslims has decreased from 8.8 to 8.4 per cent. WB, Uttarakhand, Kerala, Goa, J&K, Haryana and Delhi are some other states where Muslims share in the total population has increased significantly.

#### DISTRIBUTION ACROSS DISTRICTS

TABLE 5.6: NUMBER OF DISTRICTS BY MUSLIM  
POPULATION SIZE AND CONCENTRATION,  
2011 CENSUS

Muslim Population in the District	No. of Districts	% of Muslims in Total Population of District	No. of Districts
10,00,000 or more	31	75 or more	3
5,00,000 to 9,99,999	67	50 or more but less than 75	35
2,50,000 to 4,99,999	106	25 or more but less than 50	42
1,00,000 to 2,49,999	150	10 or more but less than 25	189
50,000 to 99,999	76	5 or more but less than 10	131
10,000 to 49,999	104	1 or more but less than 5	173
Less than 10,000	106	Less than 1	67
Total	640	Total	640

*Source:* Calculated from Census of India, 2011.

Total number of districts in India was 593 in 2001 while 640 in 2011. As per 2011 census, there are 38 districts where Muslims are in absolute majority while there are 80 districts where Muslims population share is more than 25 per cent. The Government of India can identify these districts for focused attention on Muslims for socio-economic and educational progress to bring down the population growth.

TABLE 5.7: TOP 50 DISTRICTS BY MUSLIM POPULATION SIZE AND PERCENTAGE

District	Muslims Population in District	% of Muslims in the District	District	Muslims Population in District	% of Muslims in the District
Murshidabad (WB)	47,07,573	66.27	Lakshadweep	62,268	96.58
South 24-Parganas (WB)	29,03,075	35.57	Dhubri (AS)	15,53,023	79.67
Malappuram (KR)	28,88,849	70.24	Mewat (HR)	8,62,647	79.20
North 24-Parganas (WB)	25,84,684	25.82	Barpeta (AS)	11,98,036	70.74
Moradabad (UP)	22,48,392	47.12	Malappuram (KR)	28,88,849	70.24
Maldah (WB)	20,45,151	51.27	Kishanganj (BR)	11,49,095	67.98
Mumbai Sub. (MH)	17,95,788	19.19	Murshidabad (WB)	47,07,573	66.27
Hyderabad (AP)	17,13,405	43.45	Darrang (AS)	5,97,392	64.34
Muzaffarnagar (UP)	17,11,453	41.30	Hailakandi (AS)	3,97,653	60.31
Bardhaman (WB)	15,99,764	20.73	Leh (J&K)	78,971	59.16
Bijnor (UP)	15,85,210	43.04	Goalpara (AS)	5,79,929	57.52
Nagao (AS)	15,63,203	55.36	Karimganj (AS)	6,92,489	56.36
Dhubri (AS)	15,53,023	79.67	Nagaon (AS)	15,63,203	55.36
Bareilly (UP)	15,36,534	34.54	Kargil (J&K)	77,785	55.24
Uttar Dinajpur (WB)	15,01,170	49.92	Kupwara (J&K)	4,74,190	54.48
Saharanpur (UP)	14,54,052	41.95	Rajouri (J&K)	3,45,351	53.76
Nadia (WB)	13,82,682	26.76	Udhampur (J&K)	2,96,784	53.48
Katihar (BR)	13,65,645	44.47	Ganderbal (J&K)	1,58,720	53.36
Thane (MH)	13,55,630	12.26	Jammu (J&K)	8,13,821	53.19
Birbhum (WB)	12,98,054	37.06	Baramula (J&K)	5,34,733	53.05
Howrah (WB)	12,70,641	26.20	Samba (J&K)	1,69,124	53.03
Purnia (BR)	12,55,641	38.46	Bandipore (J&K)	2,07,680	52.95
Bangalore (KA)	12,48,294	12.97	Kathua (J&K)	3,26,109	52.90
Kozhikode (KR)	12,11,131	39.24	Reasi (J&K)	1,66,461	52.90
Araria (BR)	12,07,442	42.95	Poonch (J&K)	2,51,899	52.83

contd.

TABLE 5.7: CONTD.

District	Muslims Population in District	% of Muslims in the District	District	Muslims Population in District	% of Muslims in the District
Barpeta (AS)	11,98,036	70.74	Badgam (J&K)	3,98,041	52.81
Ghaziabad (UP)	11,86,776	25.35	Srinagar (J&K)	6,51,124	52.64
Meerut (UP)	11,85,643	34.43	Ramban (J&K)	1,49,132	52.56
Rampur (UP)	11,81,337	50.57	Morigaon (AS)	5,03,257	52.56
Bahraich (UP)	11,69,330	33.53	Pulwama (J&K)	2,93,064	52.29
Kishanganj (BR)	11,49,095	67.98	Doda (J&K)	2,13,641	52.12
East Champaran (BR)	9,90,349	19.42	Kishtwar (J&K)	1,20,165	52.09
Lucknow (UP)	9,85,070	21.46	Anantnag (J&K)	5,59,767	51.89
Kolkata (WB)	9,26,414	20.60	Maldah (WB)	20,45,151	51.27
Sitapur (UP)	8,93,725	19.93	Kulgam (J&K)	2,17,620	51.27
Ahmedabad (GJ)	8,83,238	12.24	Shopiyan (J&K)	1,36,480	51.27
Darbhanga (BR)	8,81,476	22.39	Rampur (UP)	1,181,337	50.57
Hoogli (WB)	8,70,204	15.77	Bongaigaon (AS)	3,71,033	50.22
West Champaran (BR)	8,65,090	21.98	N. Dinaipur (WB)	1,50,1170	49.92
Mewar (HR)	8,62,647	79.20	Moradabad (UP)	22,48,392	47.12
Madhubani (BR)	8,18,912	18.25	Katihar (BR)	13,65,645	44.47
Jammu (J&K)	8,13,821	53.19	Hyderabad (AP)	17,13,405	43.45
Palakkad (KR)	8,12,936	28.93	Bijnor (UP)	15,85,210	43.04
Kheri (UP)	8,07,600	20.08	Araria (BR)	12,07,442	42.95
Balrampur (UP)	8,05,975	37.51	Saharanpur (UP)	14,54,052	41.95
Allahabad (UP)	7,96,756	13.38	Muzaffarnagar (UP)	17,11,453	41.30
Budaun (UP)	7,90,515	21.47	J. Phule Nagar (UP)	7,50,368	40.78
Aurangabad (MH)	7,86,677	21.25	Kamrup (AS)	6,01,784	39.66
Bulandshahar (UP)	7,77,407	22.22	Kozhikode (KR)	1,21,1131	39.24
Mumbai (MH)	7,73,173	25.06	Purnia (BR)	12,55,641	38.46

Source: Calculated from Census of India, 2011.

## SEX RATIOS

## SEX RATIOS

Sex ratio is defined as the number of females per 1,000 male in a population. From Table 5.1, sex ratio at all-India level is 943:939 among Hindus and 951 among Muslims. As per 2001 census, sex ratio on national level was 933, among Hindus 931 and in Muslims 936. In 2001, sex ratio in Muslims was slightly higher than the national average and Hindu sex ratio. In 2011, sex ratio among Muslims is higher than the national average and much higher than that in Hindus.

TABLE 5.8: SEX RATIO OVER THE YEARS

Year	All Population (A)	Muslim (M)	Difference (M – A)
1961	941	935	–6
1971	930	922	–8
1981	934	937	+3
1991	927	930	+3
2001	933	936	+3
2011	943	951	+8

Sources: The SCR and Census 2011.

Unfavourable sex ratio among Hindus, as experts claim, is the main cause of lower decadal growth and the consequent fall in share in total population. If sex ratio is improved in Hindu community, its population would increase drastically.

## CHILD SEX RATIOS (CSR)

The CSR is the number of female children under 6 years of age for every 1,000 male children under 6 years of age, i.e. 0-6 age group. In India CSR has been always below 1,000. In addition, the overall CSR in the country has been declining steadily during the last 50 years. It was 976 in 1961, 964 in 1971, 962 in 1981, 953 in 1991 and 927 in 2001. In 2001, the CSR for Hindus was

925 and 950 in Muslims. This shows that CSR in the Muslim community was much higher than the national average (927) and further higher than the Hindu community (925). As per 2011 Census, India has shown a decrease of 8 female children to be at 919 against 927 in 2001 whereas CSR in Muslims is 943. This ratio in Hindu community is 913 which is down by 12 females children as compared to 925 in 2001. The low and falling CSR is the result of two factors: excess female infant mortality (relative to male infant mortality) and female foeticide. Both these factors show parental discrimination against girl children.

As per NFHS data, Muslims had the highest CSR of any social group in the country in 1998-9. In 1992-3 also, Muslims had the highest CSR. In that years they were the only social group to experience a further increase in the ratio between 1992-3 and 1998-9. On the other hand, female infant mortality and female foeticide is rampant in the Hindu community. The comparatively low growth rate in the population of Hindu community is the result of a fast declining CSR.

#### URBANIZATION

Although the level of urbanization has been increasing steadily, India's population is predominantly rural. In 2001, only 27.8 per cent lived in urban areas whereas in 2011, 31.1 per cent do so. The Muslim population is also predominantly rural, but the level of urbanization among them has been higher. A number of historical, cultural and political factors are responsible for this. Communalization of social space and occurrence of communal riots are also responsible for high degree of urbanization among Muslims.

Muslims are comparatively more urbanized than the total population. In states like TN, Maharashtra, Karnataka, AP, MP, Gujarat and Chhattisgarh, majority of Muslims live in urban areas. As high as 69.6 per cent Muslims in Chhattisgarh, 73 in Maharashtra, 63.4 in Karnataka and 76.5 in TN, live in urban areas. Higher level of urbanization is not a recent development, Muslims have been relatively more urbanized even in the past. However, the difference between the total and Muslim population with regard to

TABLE 5.9: TRENDS IN URBANIZATION, 1961-2011

Year	All Population (A)	Muslim (M)	Difference (M – A)
1961	18.0	27.1	9.1
1971	19.9	28.8	8.9
1981	23.7	34.0	10.3
1991	25.7	35.5	9.8
2001	27.8	35.7	7.9
2011	31.1	39.9	8.8

Sources: The SCR and Census 2011.

urbanization has been decreasing after 1991. The PSEC has noted that the share of Muslims in Rural-Urban migration has declined reflecting an exclusionary urbanization in which Muslims along with other vulnerable groups are less welcomed in cities and towns. The report notes, 'Percentage increase in share of urban population in the case of Muslim is low, especially in urban centres, reflecting social factors and possibly discrimination constraining their mobility'.<sup>3</sup>

## DEMOGRAPHIC PROCESSES

### MORTALITY

Mortality is measured by two indicators: Infant Mortality Rate (IMR) and Under-Five Mortality Rate (U5MR). The IMR is the proportion of children dying before completing the first year of their life. Similarly, U5MR is the proportion of children dying before completing five years of their age. According to the SCR, Muslims had the second-lowest IMR and U5MR of any SRC in India, despite the fact that they had lower levels of female schooling and income than other SRCs. As per NFHS-2, IMR and U5MR for Muslims were 59 and 83 respectively which were lower than that of SC/STs, Hindus and the national average. As per NFHS-3 (2005-6), Muslims had an IMR of 52.4, Hindus 58.4, Dalits 66.4 and Tribals 62.1.<sup>4</sup> As per the SCR, IMR and U5MR de-



clined between NFHS-1 and NFHS-2 among all groups. It declined more rapidly among Muslims than other Hindus. Muslims had experienced the largest decline.

#### FERTILITY

Fertility is measured by the total fertility rate (TFR) which is the number of live births a woman gives, on an average, during her lifetime if she goes through the reproductive span, following a given age-specific fertility schedule. Fertility among Muslims, and also in other SRCs, varies according to socio-economic characteristics as well as on the level of education. In all communities, there are large regional variations.

TABLE 5.10: TFR IN SRCs AND COMPARISON

NFHS Data	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Differential between Muslims and Hindus
NFHS-1	3.3	4.4	2.9	2.43	1.1
NFHS-2	2.78	3.59	2.44	2.26	0.8
NFHS-3	2.7	3.1	2.40	1.95	0.4

Source: *The Indian Express*.<sup>5</sup>

It is found that TFR has shown a downward trend for all SRCs. It is falling faster in Muslims than Hindus. In NFHS-1 (1992-3) the gap between TFR of Muslims and Hindus was 1.1 which dropped to 0.8 in NFHS-2 (1998-9) and 0.4 in NFHS-3 (2005-6). This shows that the gap between Muslim and Hindu TFR is declining and after some time these figures would converge. Experts point out that there is no 'Hindu Fertility' or 'Muslim Fertility' or any community specific fertility. As stated above fertility is entirely dependent on socio-economic condition, level of education and individual choice, etc. There is regional variation as well. According to NFHS-2, TFR of Muslims in many south Indian states is less than that of national average. TFR of Muslims in Kerala, TN, AP, and Karnataka is typically low. Women's education is the

most important factor explaining fertility differences across the country and in SRCs. In north Indian states, the level of education in Muslim women is low which is the main reason for high TFR in Muslims in these states.

As per 2011 census, Kerala has a literacy rate of 93.9 per cent and UP 69.7 per cent. TFR of UP and Kerala are at 3.3 and 1.8 respectively while national TFR is 2.4. The Muslim population in UP increased 25.19 while 12.83 per cent in Kerala. Over the same period, the Hindu Population increased 18.9 per cent in UP and 2.8 in Kerala. This indicates a direct relation between high literacy and falling TFR. After analysis of all evidences, we find that richer families, families with better literacy and better health facilities have lower fertility rates. On the international level, evidence shows that there is no correlation between religion and TFR. (<http://twocircles.net/2016aug10/1470827491.html>).

#### MUSLIM POPULATION MYTH

When the 2011 census data on religion was released in August 2015, plethora of misleading reports appeared in the print media. Sensational headlines appeared on news channels and the same myth was repeated and discussed again and again. The myth: 'Muslim population is increasing rapidly and very soon India will see a population inversion'. To prove this hypothesis, the same stereotypical, unreasonable and oversimplified *mantras* were put forward which blamed Muslims for the high population growth.

The SCR pointed out that as an ongoing process of demographic transition, population growth in India was likely to continue for some time to come but would eventually cease and possibly decline for all communities including Muslims. By the end of the twenty-first century, Muslim population in India was projected to reach 320-40 million in a total population of 1.7 to 1.8 billion. That time the share of Muslims in the total population would become 18 to 19 per cent. This shows that Muslim population would saturate at 18-19 per cent and would never overtake the Hindu population. It was also highlighted that a family took deci-

sion on fertility keeping in mind the cost of child-bearing rather than for raising the community's share in the total population.

The Pew Research Centre (PRC) released a report in April 2015 which has given population projection for different communities. It says that by 2050, in a total population of 1.7 billion, Hindu population would grow to 1.3 billion which would be 76.6 per cent of the total. Indian Muslim population will become 310.66 million which would be 18.4 per cent of the total. It will overtake the population of Muslims in Indonesia and Pakistan.<sup>6</sup> As per the same report, it will reach maximum up to 18.4 per cent and will not overtake the Hindu population. Second, Islam is not the reason behind the rapid Muslim growth in India. If Islam was the reason, then how come the number of Muslims in India will overtake the number in other countries. If it is due to Islam then logically the countries ahead of India should keep the same pace and remain ahead of India as far as Muslim population is concerned. Muslim population growth in India is not due to Islam. The reason behind this is socio-economic and educational backwardness especially female literacy. Ghettoization caused due to communal violence is also a reason for high population growth. Although the decadal growth among Muslims is higher than Hindus, the differential between the growths of Hindus and Muslims is fast reducing. Muslims have shown a 50 per cent higher decline in growth rate than Hindus. The differential between these two growth rates has been reducing since 1981 and is expected to continue in a similar manner and in near future these two would definitely converge. If we assume that population of both communities grow with the rates noticed in 2011 census, it would take another 260 years for Muslims to overtake the Hindu population.

These analysis clearly indicate that the growth rate among Muslims is fast reducing and it would converse with that of Hindus and at that time Muslim population would be 18-19 per cent of the total population. The myth of population inversion is baseless and not supported by any mathematical calculation. This is spread by hate mongers and communal elements to create panic and communal passion. This is also done by communal parties to create fear in the majority community to gain political benefits. To bust

the myth of high population growth of Muslims and falling share of Hindus, following points will be helpful:

1. Decadal growth among Muslims has been fast declining since 1981. As per 1991, 2001 and 2011 census, it was 32.92, 29.49 and 24.64 per cent respectively. During 2001-11, decadal growth among Hindus has fallen by 3.17 pp and in Muslims by 4.85 pp. Thus, Muslims have shown a 50 per cent higher decline than Hindus. If we plot a graph of decadal growth with time, we can see that the graph of Hindus and Muslims would converge in the near future.
2. The sensational headlines of 'Hindu Population Declined' is totally wrong and far away from reality. During 2001-11, the addition in Hindu population was 13.88 crore and the same for Muslims was 3.42 crore. Incidentally the Muslim population in 2001 was 13.8 crore. What Hindus have added in 10 years took Muslims 1,400 years of living in India.
3. The differential between fertility of Muslims and Hindus as per NFHS-1, 2 and 3 were 1.1, 0.8 and 0.4 respectively. This shows that differential is fast reducing and TFR of Hindus and Muslims would converge in the near future. Abusaleh Shariff writes, 'The fast pace of decline in Muslim women's fertility rate is occurring while they have a much lower mean child-bearing age, which in itself is evidence that falling Muslim fertility is choice-based and irreversible in near future'.<sup>7</sup>
4. As per 2011 census, 966 million Hindus consist of 51.6 per cent males and 48.4 per cent females and thus sex-ratios among Hindus is 939. 172 million Muslims divide into 51.2 males and 48.8 per cent females and thus sex-ratios among Muslims is 951. Gender ratio is much better amongst Muslims than Hindus. Lower sex-ratio is the main cause of lower decadal growth among Hindus. If Hindu community improves its sex ratio, its share in the total population would certainly improve.
5. As per the 2011 census, the CSR among Hindus and Muslims are 913 and 943 respectively. This points to rampant prevalence of female foeticide and excess female infant mortality in Hindus. Experts claim that the most obvious factor affecting

the difference between the growth rates of these two communities is female foeticide. For example, the Asian Centre for Human Rights (ACHR), in a report titled, 'The State of Female Foeticide in Uttarakhand' has found that the CSR in the state is set to fall drastically. Uttarakhand, a predominantly Hindu state, has the 7th lowest CSR among 35 states/ UTs of India as per 2011 census with CSR of 890. The ACHR has complained to the NHRC to address the findings in the report.

6. On the national level, growth of Muslim population is not uniform. One notes that there are serious regional variations between areas such as Malabar coast of Kerala and the UP-Bihar region. In many states such as AP, Kerala, A&N Islands and Lakshadweep growth of Muslim is less than the national average and in Karnataka and TN it is very close to it. In the Kashmir valley, in earlier decades the percentage of increase of Hindu population was more than that of the Muslims.
7. Population growth is mainly dependent on socio-economic condition of a couple. It is high in poor people irrespective of religious affiliation than people of high socio-economic status. UP, Bihar, WB, Maharashtra and Assam make up more than 60 per cent of the total Muslim population. Among these states, Bihar, Assam and WB are among the poorest in India. TFR is high in families of poor economic condition irrespective of religion. Muslims' growth is quite close to Dalits which means economic and social backwardness are reasons for high growth.
8. Level of education, especially female literacy, plays a very important role in family planning, use of contraceptives and reducing the population growth rate. Given the poor educational condition of Muslims and even lower literacy in females, population growth has been high since 1981. With increase in female literacy, contraceptive use has gone up and the growth has shown a downward trend. Increasing education level in females and easy access to medical advice regarding family planning are two important factors for the reduced growth rate.
9. Migration to Western countries is also an important factor for decrease in Hindu population. Due to high level of economic and educational status, Hindus travel to Western countries where

they get citizenship and hence are not counted as citizens of India. This is also supported by the PRC Report, which says that Hindu population in the USA would increase from 0.6 per cent in 2010 to 1.2 in 2050. As far as number is concerned, the US Hindu population is projected to grow from 1.79 million in 2010 to 4.78 in 2050. On the contrary Muslims usually go to Middle East, where they never get citizenship even if they spent their entire life there.

10. As per the 2011 Census, 2.87 million have not mentioned their religion, hence declaring themselves as atheists. It is assumed that majority of them would be born Hindus. This factor may also be considered one of the many reasons for showing reduction in Hindu population growth. Many sects in the Hindu religion have declared themselves as followers of a new (different) religion. Members of Ramkrishna Mission have declared themselves in the census as non-Hindus.<sup>8</sup> Similarly, the Lingayats in Karnataka have been seeking a separate religious identity from Hinduism. They have rejected the Vedic authority. They have also rejected most of the broad Hindu traditions. During 2011 census, Lingayat leaders had even asked the community members to choose the column called 'others' under religion ([www.thenewsminute.com](http://www.thenewsminute.com)). Thus factors of faith change of Hindu sects can also be considered as a reason for the marginal dip in Hindu population growth.
11. The suicide rate refers to the number of suicides per one lakh population. As per the NCRB 2014 data, the suicide rate among Hindus was 11.3 while the national average was 10.6. Muslims and Sikhs, at 7 and 4.1 rate recorded the lowest rates (*The Indian Express*, Pune, 14 February 2017). This factor is also responsible for marginal increase in Muslim and decrease in Hindu population.

#### PROPAGANDA BY RIGHT WING ORGANIZATIONS

Right wing organizations, i.e. the RSS, BJP and their affiliated organizations have been continuously using the issue of Muslim population for instilling fear in Hindus and spreading hatred

between two communities. Ignoring the vital facts of extremely adverse male-female ratio and large-scale prevalence of female foeticide in Hindus, they make the bogey of Muslim population for communal polarization and political benefits. A brief relook at demands and statements of leaders of these organization is required to understand the issue. The RSS and its leaders have, time and again, urged the Hindu families to produce more children in order to check the 'demographic imbalance'. For them, Hindus are the 'victim'. In December 2005, the then RSS Sarsanghachalak K.S. Sudarshan had urged Hindus to have 3-4 children per couple to keep the 'changing religious demography' in control. In 2013, then RSS joint secretary Dattatreya Hosbale had made similar exhortation to check 'demographic imbalance'.<sup>9</sup> On 22 October 2015, RSS chief Mohan Bhagwat underlined the need to review population growth in the country. He said that high population growth had caused 'imbalances' and he called for a national population-control policy.<sup>10</sup> On 31 October 2015, in a resolution adopted at its Akhil Bharatiya Karyakari Mandal held in Ranchi, the RSS claimed 'higher growth' in Muslim and Christian population and blamed it on 'infiltration and conversion'. It asked the government to 'reformulate the population policy' to check demographic imbalance (*The Indian Express*, Pune, 1 November 2015).

Time and again, many a leaders from these right wing organizations have said that Hindus are in danger due to high population growth of Muslims and have been advising Hindu women to serve the 'nation' by producing more children. On 2 February 2013, during a Sant Mahasammelan, the late Ashok Singhal said that the population of Muslims had been increasing continuously and that share of Hindu population had been going down. According to him, if it continued in the same manner, Hindus would become a minority in India by 2061.<sup>11</sup> In February 2014, he claimed that Hindu population was growing at a much slower rate than that of Christians and Muslims and advised that Hindu families should 'produce at least five children'. He also said that if things continued in the same way and the common civil code was not implemented, Hindus would be reduced to a minority in the country.<sup>12</sup> The Shiv Sena unit of UP, in October 2014, had decided to

identify Hindu families in the state that had 10 or more children to felicitate them with cash reward of Rs. 21,000 and certificate. It was being done to counter the numerical dominance of 'other communities'. The party also announced to organize agitation on large-scale against family planning.<sup>13</sup> In January 2015, BJP MP Sakshi Maharaj said that the concept of four wives and 40 children would not work in India and that the time had come when a Hindu woman must produce at least four children in order to protect Hindu religion.<sup>14</sup> Sadhvi Prachi in turn advised Hindu women to produce 40 children each.<sup>15</sup> After the publication of religion-wise 2011 census data, then BJP MP Yogi Adityanath had demanded a law to check the Muslim population growth.

Thus, it should be noted here that, the RSS and its affiliates ignore the vital facts and blame Muslims for high population growth. They allege that it is dangerous for the unity and integrity of the country. On this basis, they have been demanding a 'national population-control policy' to check the 'demographic imbalance' caused by high population growth among Muslims. On the basis of imaginary threats, they have been poisoning the minds of the majority community. This issue has been used to criticize the whole community and it has also been used for 'communal polarization'. Interestingly, these advices have come from leaders who are 'celibates'. In public domain these leaders are proud bachelors. Akbaruddin Owaisi, an AIMIM leader, once mocked these leaders as, "They are also associated with the RSS which is proud of being a "club of bachelors". Its amazing such an advice to Hindu women is coming from the people who are not married.' He advised them to 'First get married and then issue such an advice'.<sup>16</sup>

The RSS and leaders of right wing Hindu organizations, more often knowingly or unknowingly ignore the vital reality of female foeticide. Female foeticide, a devil of national shame, is more rampant in the Hindu community. As per census 2011 data, the sex-ratio among Muslims is 951 while among Hindus it is only 939. The CSR in Muslim is 943 while in the Hindu community 913. The data indicates towards the practice of female foeticide. The disproportionate CSR or sex ratio cannot be justified by any means.



These leaders should note that female foeticide, female infanticide and dowry killing is disproportionately high in the Hindu community and they should try to correct this devil by reformative steps within the community.

Since the 1980s, with the availability of technologies for determination of sex of foetus, female foeticide has become rampant in India due to preference for sons and other reasons. This correlation has been supported by the census data and census statement. Many studies have highlighted the prevalence of female foeticide, expected number and its consequences. The *Lancet*, a British medical journal, in a study published in 2011, has stated that 12 million fetuses were aborted in India in the previous 30 years. In an *Al-Jazeera* article published in 2013, Sunny Hundal mentions India's 60 million missing women. He pointed out that in the 2011 census, there were 37.25 million fewer women than men and that to match this shortage along with the addition of natural male-female ratio, would require 60 to 70 million additional women. Female foeticide has drastically reduced the number of would-be-Hindu women. If a conservative estimate of 80 per cent share of Hindu population share is taken, 48 million of these missing women would belong to the Hindu community. If female foeticide had not been practised, 48 million women would have been added to the total Hindu women population. Putting this in a different way, if female foeticide was not present, in 2011 census the total Hindu population would have been at 1.0143 billion, instead of the existing 966.3 million. If the cumulative effect of female foeticide is calculated since the 1980s, the share of Hindu population would have been equal to or greater than the 1961 levels.<sup>17</sup>

Hindus have 12 women less per 1,000 males if compared with sex-ratios of Muslims. As per 2011 census there are 498.3 million Hindu males. If we calculate on this scale, there are 60 lakh women less in the Hindu community. This also means, if Hindu community maintains a sex ratio equal to that of Muslims, it can add 60 lakh women. This will ultimately increase the total population of Hindus and also share of Hindus in the total population.

Another important factor which is affecting the sex ratio in Hindus is the high degree of preference for sons. Due to this, unborn

girl child is killed after sex-determination to avoid two girl children in the family. On the contrary, son preference seems to be lower among Muslims, which could potentially explain Muslim advantage. Besides this fact, despite their relative poverty, lack of education and poorer public provisioning of facilities, infant and child mortality among Muslims is lower than other communities and sex-ratio is higher. Moreover, both these indices have been improving faster for Muslims than for others in recent years.

Thus, instead of blaming Muslims for 'demographic imbalance' and advising Hindu women to produce more children, Hindu right wing leaders should do self-analysis of the issue and look towards the Hindu community. They should stop blaming Muslims and take corrective steps to save the would-be-born Hindu female child. Javed Jamil advised, 'The Hindu experts must not forget that the growth rate within a community ultimately depends upon the number of fertile women and not men. If they are really interested in maintaining their lead in the population, they will have to produce more daughters and not kill them in the wombs of their mothers.'<sup>18</sup>

### CASTE-BASED CENSUS

The Census of India, first conducted in 1881, collected universal caste-wise population data till 1931. After 1931, although census operations involved collection of data on SCs and STs and their population, it did not collect data related to OBC castes and their numbers. Even information related to number of OBC castes and their share in population mentioned in the Mandal Commission report is based on 1931 census. The 52 per cent figure of OBC population has been arrived at on the basis of their population in 1931 census which has been disputed by the OBCs as well as by higher castes. After implementation of the Mandal Commission, there have been several calls from OBC organizations to include caste as one of the parameters in the census exercise, to ascertain the correct figure of OBC population in the hope of getting increased reservation share. Even the SCI and some High Courts have asked for the basis of the quantum of reservation for OBCs

which the government lacked on account of absence of caste-wise population data. During census exercise of 2011, OBC base parties and regional parties demanded the government to conduct caste-based census by including caste as one of the parameters. Initially, the UPA had decided not to include caste by citing operational difficulties. Due to persistent campaign of leaders representing the politics of OBC assertion – such as Lalu Prasad, Mulayam Singh and Sharad Yadav, the UPA decided to conduct Socio-Economic and Caste Census (SECC) in rural and urban areas of all states. It was launched on 29 June 2011 from Sankhola village of Hazemara block of West Tripura district and it was decided to complete the survey by December 2011.

The SECC, as decided, would rank households based on socio-economic status to prepare a Below Poverty Line (BPL) list, while gathering information on caste-wise break-up of population. This will also provide socio-economic profile of castes. The SECC is now completed and its first findings were revealed on 3 July 2015 by Finance Minister Arun Jaitley. However, the government has deliberately withheld caste-related data in the SECC. Many political parties have criticized the government for not releasing the data.<sup>19</sup> On 13 July 2015, Lalu Prasad organized a march in Patna and demanded the central government to release the findings.

Caste-related data in SECC is critical for Indian Muslims for two reasons. First: Some Hindu castes which have socio-economic and educational conditions at par with Muslims, may have population growth equal to or greater than Muslims. This will demolish the propaganda of high population growth in Muslims and at the same time prove the direct relation between socio-economic condition and population growth of a caste and give a big blow to parties and organizations which want to propagate and exploit the issue of Muslim growth. Second: 80 per cent of Muslim castes are included in the OBC list. If the caste-related data is released and there is increased quantum of reservation for OBCs, Muslims' share of reservation would also go up. Muslim organizations and political parties should also agitate to put pressure on the government to release caste-related data of SECC.

## FAMILY PLANNING IN MUSLIMS

There is a myth that Muslims do not take to family planning as their religion prohibits them. And this is the major cause of population growth among them. The reality is that there is no open opposition to family planning among Muslims and they have adopted it widely. As socio-economic and educational indicators go high, Muslims also tend to have smaller families, just like the rest of their countrymen. According to the SCR, 'The fact do not support the common perception that Muslim shun family planning, as over one third of Muslim couples were reported to be using some contraception'.

In Islamic countries, family planning methods are widely popular. In his book *Family Planning and Legacy of Islam*, Islamic scholar A.K. Omran of Cairo dispels the myths that Islam is inherently against family planning. According to him there is no passage in the Quran that prohibits prevention of pregnancy. *Azol* which means ejaculation outside vagina was known and used by companions of the Prophet to reduce the chances of pregnancy and conception. Data collected from two surveys of Operation Research Group (ORG) in the 1980s, NFHS-1 and NFHS-2 shows that the use of contraception is prevalent among Muslims but to a lesser degree than the general population. The number of Muslim couples in the child-bearing age practising family planning in 1970 was 9 per cent (Hindu: 14 per cent) and in 1980, 22.5 per cent (Hindu: 36.1 per cent) (*Source*: ORG: Baroda, 1981). Thus the number of additional Muslims taking to family planning is keeping pace with the number of Hindus doing the same. Rakesh Basant emphasizes that 37 per cent of Muslims use contraceptives against the national average of 48 per cent. Therefore, contraceptive use is about 10 per cent lower among Muslim than the national average. However, there are significant regional variations. As per the SCR, although general methods of contraception are popular among Muslims, sterilization is less popular among them. As per the same report, 'Use of contraceptives is known to be highly positively related to the level of education besides, as the level of education rises, the Muslim-no-Muslim differences narrow down'.<sup>20</sup>

There are many individuals and Muslim organization taking effort to popularize family planning and use of contraceptives among Muslim families. This effort is being taken, in varied degree, in all states across India. Ilias Ali, a Professor of Surgery in Guwahati Medical College, has launched a kind of *jihad* (holy war) against the misconceptions about birth control and so far he has carried out more than 48,000 vasectomies on Muslim males. He has been encouraging rural uneducated Muslim youths for birth control and has set a target of bringing down TFR to 2.1 by 2019. He quotes Quranic verses and says, 'Islam is perhaps the only religion which talks about family limitation methods'. He has risked his life due to his sterilization programmes. In 2009, an Islamic organization had issued a *fatwa* against Ali and his programmes had been boycotted for being un-Islamic. He is continuing his mission to achieve the target.<sup>21</sup> Aslam Jamadar, a social activist of Pune, has started an NGO to create awareness in Muslims about education and family planning. He has collected data regarding family planning and use of contraceptives from PHCs from across the state. His target is FP 2020 which includes three points: (1) To increase male sterilization; (2) To increase awareness about advanced copper T which has a life of more than 15 years and thus rules out the need of family planning operation in women; and (3) To reduce TFR among Muslims. Through field data and actual case studies, he is doing his work in association with health officials.<sup>22</sup> A village in Assam called, No. 2 Dhansiri Kash, near Guwahati, was in limelight for its family planning effort. The village with a majority of people belonging to the Muslim community is taking serious steps for population control measures. Villagers have come forward and expressed their willingness to learn about population control measures.<sup>23</sup>

## CONCLUSION

As per 2011 census, population of Muslim is 17.22 crore which is 14.22 per cent of the national population. Although the decadal growth among Muslims is higher than the average, it has shown a declining trend. TFR in all SRCs is declining and differential of

TFR between Muslims and Hindus has been declining and there is strong possibility that it will converge in near future. Performance of Muslims in terms of sex ratio and CSR is better than the national average and far better than Hindus. The myth of high population growth in Muslims which causes demographic imbalance in the country is not substantiated. Instead of blaming Muslims, Hindutva right wing members should concentrate on improving sex-ratio and spreading awareness about female foeticide and female infanticide. If they honestly try to improve the count of women in their community, it would improve the population of Hindus and their share in the total population. Contrary to the general perception, Muslims have adopted family planning, although the percentage use of contraceptives is lower than the national average. The decline in fertility rate corresponds to economic progress, rising education levels and access to contraceptives. According to a report, teen pregnancy is nine times higher among illiterate women than women who have finished school education. According to the same report, the richest women marry four years later than the poorest.<sup>24</sup>

Instead of communalizing the census data the present government should focus on the family planning as mentioned in the 12th FYP. Individuals like Dr. Ilias Ali and Aslam Jamadar are present in all corners of the country. The government health officials may create awareness with the help of these individuals. The present government should also release the caste-related data of SECC which is going to help Muslims in many ways. Even states can conduct and release caste-based census data. Karnataka is a case in point here as it has got conducted the caste-based census and is planning to release the data. Sanjay Nirupam, a senior Congress leader writes, 'The prevalent poverty and illiteracy in the Muslim community is largely responsible for its higher population growth'.<sup>25</sup> Experts and community leaders have argued that if the government really wants to check the population growth in Muslims it should bring socio-economic progress and raise the educational level of the community.

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## Educational Condition

### INTRODUCTION

Education is necessary for the development of mankind and also for socio-economic and religio-cultural development of a society. A society needs education to integrate itself with the mainstream. Education generates human capital that is necessary for economic, scientific and technological progress of a nation. Every faith and religion of the world reiterate the importance of education (*ilm*) and none of them oppose it. On the other hand, it is accepted as very necessary for human progress and for the survival of religions. The importance of education in the Quran can be judged by the fact that verses 1-5 of *sûrah* Al-Alaq or Iqra, which are related to education, were the first direct revelations to the Prophet (*pbuh*).

Proclaim! (or read) in the name of Lord  
and Cherisher, who created man, out of  
a (mere) clot of congealed blood.  
Proclaim! and thy Lord is most  
bountiful who taught (the use of)  
the pen (and) taught the man  
that which he knew not.

It shows that Islam rests on the foundation of education. Besides, the holy book is full of verses which describe importance of education for survival of mankind.

The SCR has clearly brought out the relative educational deprivation of Muslims in India in various dimensions. It says that Muslims are at double disadvantage with low levels of education combined with low quality education. Dalit community across India has utilized the benefits of reservation and has achieved success in educational attainment and social mobility. Muslims as



a homogeneous group don't take part in educational development especially in the field of higher education. The SCR says, 'Muslims don't see education as necessarily translating into formal employment'. It also said, 'The low percentage of Muslims in public or private sector employment and the perception of discrimination in securing salaried jobs make them attach less importance to formal secular education'.

## EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MUSLIMS

### LITERACY RATE

The census defines literacy rate as percentage of population aged 7 years and above who can read and write while the NSSO defines in terms of the percentage of persons aged 6 years and above. Here the literacy rate is calculated for population aged 6 years and above (see Table 6.1).

Although literacy rate in Muslims has improved from 2001 to 2011 yet it continued to be one of the lowest. Muslims have a literacy rate at 68.5 which is lower than the national average at

TABLE 6.1: LITERACY IN DIFFERENT SRCs FOR PERSONS AGED 6 YEARS AND ABOVE

SRCs	2001 Census			2011 Censuse			Diff.
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Total
India	75.3	53.7	64.8	80.9	64.6	73.0	8.2
Hindu	76.2	53.2	65.1	81.7	64.3	73.3	8.2
Muslim	67.6	50.1	59.1	74.7	62.0	68.5	9.4
Christian	84.4	76.2	80.3	87.7	81.5	84.5	4.2
Sikh	75.2	63.1	69.4	80.0	70.3	75.4	6.0
Buddhist	83.1	61.7	72.7	88.3	74.0	81.3	8.6
Jain	97.4	90.6	94.1	96.8	92.9	94.9	0.8
Others	60.8	33.2	47.0	73.8	53.8	63.7	16.7
SCs	66.6	41.9	54.7	75.2	56.5	66.1	11.4
STs	59.2	34.8	47.1	68.5	49.4	59.0	11.9

Sources: Calculated from Census, 2011 and *The Times of India*, 10 November, 2013.

73.0, of Hindus at 73.3 and all other minorities. It is marginally higher than that of SCs at 66.1 and STs at 59. Literacy rate of Muslims as a ratio of the national average has also gone up from 0.91 in 2001 to 0.94 in 2011. Muslims have shown 9.4 pp increase in literacy during 2001-11, which is higher than the national average of 8.2 pp. SCs and STs have shown higher increase in literacy during the same period.

Despite lower levels of literacy in Muslims than Hindus, Muslims have lower gender disparity. Literacy of UP in 2001 and 2011 was 56.3 and 69.7 per cent and in Bihar 47.0 and 63.8 respectively. Thus UP and Bihar have shown decadal increase of 13.4 and 16.8 per cent respectively. These two states have contributed significantly in improving literacy level of Muslims. According to Human Development Report of India, 2011, the growth in SC literacy rate was 8.7 pp while 5.3 pp for Muslims. So, the growth in SC literacy is much faster than Muslims. Scholars have attributed this to the introduction of reservation for SCs. It is argued that a higher probability of employment through reservation and consequent economic security has encouraged investment in education among SC/ST households (Desai and Kulkarni, 2005).

#### ENROLMENT RATE

This is an estimate of children who are currently enrolled in schools and attending classes. For the NSSO estimates the enrolment rates (ER), attendance rates or current attendance rates are the same. For all SRCs, the current attendance or ERs have increased during 2004-5 to 2011-12 among the children of age group of 6 to 14 years (see Table 6.2).

Muslims have the lowest ERs and M-OBC's is even low. Hindu SC/ST category has shown the highest increase with 12 pp. Rural-Urban gap has gone down during 2004-5 to 2011-12 for all SRCs.

As per the District Information System for Education (DISE) reports, the percentage of enrolment of Muslim children to total enrolment at primary level was 10.49 per cent in 2007-8, which went up to 12.56 for rural and 15.98 per cent for urban areas. Similarly, the same figure at upper primary level was 8.54 in 2007-8

TABLE 6.2: ENROLMENT RATES FOR CHILDREN  
OF 6-14 YEARS

SRCs	Enrolment Rate			Rural-Urban Gap	
	2004-5	2011-12	Difference	2004-5	2011-12
H-SC/ST	79.9	92	12	5.3	1.7
H-OBC	86.7	94	8	7.5	3.5
H-Gen	94.3	97	3	3.0	0.2
H-All	86.1	94	8	7.7	3.0
M-OBC	75.7	85	9	7.2	5.9
M-Others	82.1	89	7	3.4	-0.2
M-All	79.5	87	7	4.9	2.8
OM	90.5	96	5	6.2	2.9
Total	85.3	93	8	6.6	2.4

*Source:* The PSEC Report, 2014;

*Notes:* H: Hindu, M: Muslims; OM: Other Minorities.

which went up to 10.9 for rural and 13.76 per cent for urban areas. As per the first report of the Standing Committee of the National Monitoring Committee for Minorities' Education (NMCME), published in 2013, there had been remarkable increase in Muslim children enrolled in elementary schools from 2005-6 to 2011-12.

#### EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT: SCHOOL EDUCATION

To measure educational attainment or completed levels of education at school level, three categories are defined. Primary Education: Children of 10 years and above; Middle Level Education: Children of 14 years and above; and Secondary and Higher Secondary (S&HS) Level: Children of 16 and above (see Table 6.3).

Overall educational attainments of Muslims remained at the lower level. Figures indicate that it has increased for all SRCs during 2004-5 to 2011-12. Rate of completion of education decreases from Primary to S&HS Level. Though rate of educational attainment among Muslims was slightly higher than Hindus at Primary Level, it declined at Middle and S&HS Level. At S&HS

TABLE 6.3: EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AT DIFFERENT LEVELS, 2004-5 AND 2011-12

SRCs	Primary Level			Middle Level			S&HS Level		
	2004-5	2011-12	Diff.	2004-5	2011-12	Diff.	2004-5	2011-12	Diff.
H-SC/ST	16.4	18.0	1.6	13.7	17.0	3.3	9.1	15.3	6.3
H-OBC	17.5	16.1	-1.4	17.7	18.4	0.6	14.8	23.3	8.5
H-Gen	16.6	14.4	-2.2	19.4	17.9	-1.5	26.3	22.0	-4.3
H-All	16.9	16.2	-0.7	17.0	17.8	0.8	16.4	20.9	4.5
M-OBC	17.6	18.5	0.9	16.3	18.2	1.9	10.4	17.5	7.1
M-Others	20.3	20.6	0.3	15.5	17.1	1.6	12.4	18.8	6.4
M-All	19.2	19.5	0.3	15.8	17.6	1.8	11.6	18.1	6.5
OM	18.2	17.9	-0.3	18.7	17.7	-1.0	22.8	30.0	7.2
Total	17.3	16.8	-0.5	17.0	17.8	0.8	16.2	23.0	6.8

Source: PSEC Report, 2014.

Level, though this figure in Muslims has increased during this period, yet it remained at the lowest level (18.1 per cent) only after H-SC/ST's 15.3 per cent.

#### EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT: HIGHER EDUCATION

##### *Graduates and Above*

During 2004-5 to 2011-12, completion rate of graduation or higher level of education has increased for all SRCs. In spite of this, it remained low for Muslims at 5 per cent which is only higher to that of SC/STs. Hindu-General and other minorities are way ahead of Muslims with respect to it (see Table 6.4).

##### *Technical Education*

The proportion of technical graduates/undergraduates is important as it indicates the stock of technical skills available in the community. Data for technical graduates and under-graduates and graduate Diploma/Certificate Course for persons aged 15 years and above is analysed here (see Table 6.5).

TABLE 6.4: GRADUATES AND ABOVE, PERCENTAGE  
OF 20 YEARS + POPULATION

SRCs	Graduates, % of 20 yrs + Population			Gender disparity in 2011-12		
	2004-5	2011-12	Difference	Male	Female	G.D.
H-SC/ST	2	4	2	5	3	2
H-OBC	4	8	4	10	5	5
H-Gen	8	11	3	24	6	18
H-All	6	8	2	12	5	7
M-OBC	2	4	2	5	3	2
M-Others	4	6	2	8	4	4
M-All	3	5	2	6	4	2
OM	9	13	4	14	12	2
Total	7	9	2	12	7	5

Source: PSEC Report, 2014.

TABLE 6.5: LEVEL OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION,  
PERCENTAGE OF 15 YEARS + POPULATION, 2011-12

SRCs	No Tech. Education	Technical Graduate	UG Diploma/ Certificate	Graduate/ Certificate	Total
H-SC/ST	99.3	0.1	0.5	0.1	100
H-OBC	98.3	0.2	1.1	0.4	100
H-Gen	96.9	0.5	1.6	1.0	100
H-All	98.2	0.3	1.1	0.5	100
M-OBC	99.3	0.1	0.5	0.2	100
M-Others	99.1	0.2	0.4	0.2	100
M-All	99.2	0.1	0.5	0.2	100
OM	96.7	0.3	2.2	0.8	100
Total	98.2	0.2	1.0	0.4	100

Source: PSEC Report, 2014.

Overall proportion of persons having technical education is very low, only 2 in every 1,000. Compared to other SRCs, Muslims have low share in technical education at all levels. Their share is almost equal to that of SC/ST. The NMCME report found that a higher percentage of Muslim students end up doing UG-diploma and certificate courses.

According to an All India Survey on Higher Education 2014-15, Muslims account for 4.4 per cent of students enrolled in higher education while they constitute 14.2 per cent of the national population.<sup>1</sup> Although the attainment of higher education for Muslims and SC/STs are almost equal, the rate of growth for SC/STs is way ahead than Muslims.

Current data show that Muslims participation in Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas, IITs, IIMs and other premier institution has not improved in the post-Sachar period.

## ISSUES RELATED TO EDUCATION

### DROPOUTS

The students who enroll initially but later drop out of the school are called 'drop-outs'. According to the SCR, as many as 25 per

cent of Muslim children in the age group of 6-14 years had either never attended school or dropped out which was higher than all other SRCs. Only SC/ST had a marginally higher drop out rate than Muslims. According to an estimate only one out of six Muslim children entering school stays till matriculation. Fewer than one-tenth of girl children entering school complete matriculation (see Table 6.6).

As children grow older, the number of children not attending any institution, i.e. drop-outs also increases. It is highest for Muslims in all age groups and in both the surveys. Though all SRCs show improvement during 2004-5 to 2011-12, the figure for Muslims is always the highest in all SRCs. According to the first report of the Standing Committee on NMCME, in the academic year 2011-12, Muslims constituted 16.6 per cent in grade one but their share went down to 8.4 per cent in grade eight. The trend was same for all communities but the decline was sharper in Muslims. It is a major 'bottleneck' in transition to upper primary schools for Muslims. According to a study conducted in Pune city by the Indian Institute of Education and Tech Mahindra, Urdu medium schools in the city had a high drop-out rate – nearly 29 per cent com-

TABLE 6.6: CHILDREN CURRENTLY NOT ATTENDING ANY EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION, I.E. DROPOUTS

SRCs	6 to 14 years		15 to 19 years		20 to 25 years	
	2004-5	2011-12	2004-5	2011-12	2004-5	2011-12
H-SC/ST	5.8	3	42.8	36	57.8	67.5
H-OBC	4.2	2	41.7	27	66.9	69.1
H-Gen	2.6	1	31.0	21	73.8	68.7
H-All	4.4	2	39.3	29	65.8	68.5
M-OBC	4.5	4	39.7	35	59.1	68.0
M-Others	5.6	5	44.3	38	63.0	71.6
M-All	5.2	4	42.6	37	61.5	69.8
OM	3.4	1	33.5	26	71.6	69.9
Total	4.4	3	39.5	29.7	65.6	68.8

Source: PSEC Report, 2014.

pared to Marathi medium schools (6 per cent). The drop-out rate among girls in the same school was around 38 and of boys 23 per cent.<sup>2</sup> Dropout in those states is very high which have a significant Muslim population. According to a 2014 study based on NFHS data 2005-6, from middle to secondary school, the drop-out rate among Muslims is 17.6 as against 13.2 per cent on national level. According to DISE report (2013-14) of Rajasthan, the drop-out rate among Muslims is 18.5 on primary school and 20.6 per cent on upper primary level. The corresponding figure for state is 8 and 6 per cent respectively (TCN: 22 July 2016). As per PSEC, for Upper Caste Hindus (UCH) and OBCs the drop-out starts at 11 slowly and sharply after 14 years of age. However, Muslims and SC/ST show sharp drop-out after the age of 13. While it occurs in all SRCs, it begins early in Muslims and SC/ST.

#### REASONS FOR DROP-OUT

Financial constraints, parents not interested in studies, education not considered necessary and child not interested in studies are the major reasons for drop-outs. Parents' disinterest may be due to financial problems/poor economic condition. Prevalence of child labour, lack of teachers, lack of toilets in schools are not the major reasons. Due to financial constraints/poor economic condition, Muslims don't opt for higher education. Besides, education is not considered necessary in Muslim community. This is due to two reasons: majority among them are self-employed and they also have the feeling that they can't get government employment (see Table 6.7).

Scholars also say that religious discrimination rampant in many of the Indian schools are reasons for the rising drop-out rates for Muslims. Due to poor economic condition, Muslim children drop-out of school to help support their family. Taimoor Khan, a youth, left school at the age of 17 to help his family survive. Currently, he works at a street food stall in Delhi after arriving in the capital from UP. He says, 'We didn't have the money to keep me in school and with no income, I was forced to find work'. Khan has serious



TABLE 6.7: MAJOR REASONS FOR DROP-OUT

Reasons for Dropout	5-14 years			15-24 years		
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Hindu	Muslim	Christian
Parents not interested	26.5	23.8	10.2	13.3	15.5	8.4
Financial constraints	19.4	29.4	23.5	21.1	26.8	23.7
Education not considered necessary	12.6	11.3	9.6	4.8	5.4	4.6
Child disinterested	11.1	10.0	27.1	16.5	14.1	20.4

*Source:* PSEC Report, 2014.

doubts about education being able to improve his life.<sup>3</sup> Dropping out is a serious obstacle for Muslims in attaining higher education. Though enrolment of Muslim children in primary school is high, drop-out rate is also very high. So the community is less likely to attain secondary and higher secondary education.

#### RIGHT TO EDUCATION (RTE) ACT

On 4 August 2009, the UPA-II government passed the Rights of the Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act or RTE Act. It provides for free and compulsory education to all children in the age group of 6 to 14 years, i.e. education till completion of elementary level in a neighbourhood school. It also provides for 25 per cent reservation of seats for economically disadvantaged students in admission to class I in all private schools. It specifies duties of the appropriate government, local authority and parents in providing free and compulsory education besides making vital provisions for education.

In April 2012, the SCI upheld the RTE Act and elaborated on its applicability. The court exempted minority-run unaided private institutions from under the purview of the Act. Thus the Act was applicable to government-run schools, aided minority schools receiving grants from government or local authorities and unaided non-minority schools. On 6 May 2014, the SCI ruled that the Act is not applicable to the aided or unaided minority schools.

## SAFFRONIZATION OF EDUCATION

Communal or saffronized contents of education in public schools is one of the main causes which discourages Muslim parents from sending children to these schools. By motivated writings, under the supervision of the RSS, minorities are portrayed as main problems of the nation and Muslims, Christians and Parsis are often referred to as foreigners. Introduction of the *Gita*, Surya Namaskar, Saraswati Vandana, etc., in schools, further alienates Muslims from the mainstream education. Some attempts are mentioned here.

In 2010, the MP government made it mandatory for students to recite *bhojan mantra* before having mid-day meals. In August 2011, the government decided to make students of over 83,000 primary schools read *Devputra*, a children's magazine published by Saraswati Bal Kalyan Nyas, headed by a senior RSS functionary. In December 2011, the MP Board of Secondary Education decided to include teachings of the *Bhagavad Gita* in the curriculum of class 9 to 12 in schools run by the Board.<sup>4</sup> In July 2013, it decided to include the essence of the *Gita* in special Hindi prescribed to class IX to XII and special English in class XI and XII. In the same year, it decided to introduce *Gita* even in the curriculum of Urdu schools.<sup>5</sup> Besides, MP government has introduced Surya Namaskar in schools. In January 2012, then BJP government in Karnataka announced that the *Gita* would be introduced in school curriculum but only after a public debate.<sup>6</sup> In June 2014, Gujarat State School Textbook Board issued a circular about the inclusion of 9 books written by Dinanath Batra as supplementary reading material for all schools and district libraries. Batra, founder of Siksha Bachao Samiti, has been associated with the RSS.<sup>7</sup> In January 2015, Urdu medium schools were asked to follow prayers of Gujarati medium schools that include Saraswati Vandana, Sarva Dharm Prarthana and a list of 30 other prayers.<sup>8</sup> In January 2015, the Education Department of Rajasthan issued an order to introduce Surya Namaskar in 48,000 schools that include both government as well as private schools.<sup>9</sup> Education minister Ram Bilas Sharma of the BJP government in Haryana announced in January 2015 that the *Gita* would be compulsory from class V to XII from

the following academic session.<sup>10</sup> After BJP coming to power at the centre, RSS has constituted Bharatiya Shiksha Niti Ayog which has been mandated to suggest 'corrective steps' to 'Indianize' the educational system. Dinanath Batra is likely to head the BSNA. The Ayog will supervise the saffronization of education.<sup>11</sup>

These are few of the instances to saffronize education in India. RSS has a long cherished dream to push through religion-oriented Hindutva education. This is against the spirit of the Constitution and violates Articles 28(1) and 28(3). The present-day ideal systems of education aim at creating cohesive communities by making children learn to live together. Saffronization would generate inter-community hatred, communalize the tender minds and transform the young children into bigoted morons in the garb of instilling in them patriotism. In a democratic and secular country like India, religious teachings of a particular religion should not be introduced in school education.

#### MINORITY STATUS OF AMU

By a controversial judgement delivered on 4 October 2005, the Allahabad HC stripped AMU of its minority status. The judgement says that AMU is not a minority institution within the meaning of Article 30 of the Constitution. Therefore, the university cannot provide reservation in respect of the students belonging to the Muslim community.

A close examination of the judgement shows that it stands on the 'legally invented' and 'judicially imagined' argument that AMU does not qualify for the minority status under Article 30(1) of the Constitution because it was not established by the Muslim minority but by an Act of Parliament. According to historical records, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan founded the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental (MAO) College in 1875 for the educational empowerment of Muslims in India. And it was this very college which was upgraded to the status of a university by a Parliamentary Act of 1920. When the Act was being passed, then Governor-General observed, 'I should like to add my congratulations to the Muslim community on the passage of this Bill'. It was a congratulation for giving AMU

into the hands of the Muslim community. After 1947, in atmosphere of hatred against Muslims, the AMU (Amendment) Act of 1951 and 1965 were passed which took away its minority status. In the famous *Azeez Basha vs. Union of India* case, to which AMU was not a party, the SCI ruled that AMU was not a minority institution as it was set up by the British legislature, and not by Muslims (AIR 1968: p. 662).

The community members and old boys of AMU started a mass movement to get the status restored. They also fought politically and finally got the AMU (Amendment) Act, 1981 passed by the Parliament which accepted that AMU was set up by Muslims (*The Indian Express*, 20 January 2016). This very Act enabled the AMU to regain its robbed minority character.<sup>12</sup> Section 5(2)(a) and 5(2)(c) are worth mentioning here.

Section 5(2)(a): The university shall have the powers to promote oriental and Islamic studies and give instruction in Muslim theology and religion and to impart moral and physical training.

Section 5(2)(c): The university shall have the powers to promote especially the educational and cultural advancements of the Muslims of India.

In spite of these provisions and historical facts on record, the Allahabad HC stripped the university of its minority status. The AMU and then central government challenged the HC order in the SCI that put a stay on the verdict. Since then Muslim community leaders, intelligentsia, activists and many organizations – Sir Syed Minority Foundation of India (SSMFI), Aligarh Muslim University Students' Union, Forum for Muslim studies and Analysis, All India Muslim Forum and AMU Alumni Association have been moving from pillar to post to restore the minority status. The effort of Perwez Siddiqui, the General Secretary of SSMFI, is really commendable. He met political leaders and apprised them of the current position. He met Mrs. Sonia Gandhi (16 February 2013), Digvijay Singh (10 June 2013), Ram Vilas Paswan (17 July 2013), Shahid Ali Khan, JDU (21 July 2013) and Ram Jethmalani (3 July 2013) who assured him of all possible help.

Many other leaders and political parties have assured help.

Muslim leaders and organizations have demanded amendment in the Constitution and enactment of an Act which would remove anomalies and doubts in the AMU (Amendment) Act, 1981 to fully restore its minority status.

In January 2016, the present NDA government withdrew its name as one of the petitioners challenging the Allahabad HC verdict. In fact it told the SCI that it supports the Allahabad HC verdict. P.P. Rao, a senior advocate representing AMU, told, 'The government has changed its stance on the matter and wants to withdraw the previous affidavit (from UPA) in which it said that AMU is a minority institution. AMU does not agree with their current stance' (<http://twocircles.net/2016jan12/1452616757.html>). Condemnation started pouring from all directions against the move of the NDA government.

There are many facts on record which can help us to arrive at a conclusion. The MAO College was established for educational development of Indian Muslims. It should be run on the principles laid down by its founder. Muslims provided the land and had borne all expenditure incurred on its establishment. By AMU Act of 1920, it had been given into the hands of Muslims for administration as a minority body. Section 5(2)(c) of the AMU (Amendment) Act, 1981 empowers it to take all necessary steps for educational and cultural empowerment of Muslims. It has a historic nature and minority character and some special features and responsibilities which no other university has. Considering these facts either the Supreme Court can pronounce a judgement or it may refer the matter with suitable directions to the NCMEI in the light of section 11(c) of the NCMEI Act, 2009.

#### CENTRAL SCHEMES/PROGRAMMES

In the wake of the two reports, Central Waqf Council (CWC), MHRD and the MMA have initiated schemes/special programmes for educational development of minorities. Along with the programme names, their web-address are also being given here so that activists and eligible beneficiaries could get more details.

CENTRAL WAQF COUNCIL (<http://centralwakfcouncil.org>)

1. Industrial Training Institute
2. Vocational Training Centres
3. Book Bank/Library

#### MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE & DEVELOPMENT

On MHRD website, details of many educational schemes/programmes are available. These are: (1) Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA); (2) Scheme to Provide Quality Education in Madrasas (SPQEM); (3) Rashtriya Madhyamik Siksha Abhiyan (RMSA); (4) Incentives to girls for secondary education; (5) National Means Cum-Merit Scholarship Scheme; (6) Financial Assistance for Appointment of Language Teachers; (7) Adolescence Education Programme; (8) Girls Hostel Scheme; (9) Model School Scheme; (10) Scheme for Vocationalization of Secondary Education, at + 2 Level; (11) Model School Scheme – PPP Mode; (12) Saakshar Bharat; (13) State Resource Centre; (14) Jan Sikshan Sansthan; (15) Assistance to Voluntary Agencies; (16) Centrally sponsored scheme on Teacher Education; (17) Infrastructure Development of Minority Institution (IDMI); (18) Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas (KGBV); (19) Extension of Midday Meals to Madrasas/Maqtabs; and (20) Sub-Mission on Polytechnics under the Coordinated Action for Skill Development. Aims and objectives of these schemes, allocation of budget and result achieved can be seen from a reports titled ‘Major Initiatives for Educational Advancement of Minorities’ on MHRD website.<sup>13</sup>

Besides, some other schemes were launched/announced by the MHRD. In order to ensure quality education for minorities, it commissioned a national-level database, in May 2013, that would capture all education-related data.<sup>14</sup> In February 2014, it launched the Maulana Azad Taleem-e-Balighan, a Rs. 600 crore scheme that aimed at achieving higher literacy among Muslims. The scheme aimed at imparting literacy to one crore population (in the age group of 15 years and above), basic education to 2.5 lakh adults and skill development programmes to cover 3 lakh people.<sup>15</sup> The

MHRD had decided to open 6,000 senior secondary schools, at the rate of one school per block as Model Schools. Out of these, 3,500 schools were to be set up in 'Educationally Backward Blocks (EBBs) and remaining 2,500 under Public-Private Partnership (PPP) mode in blocks which were not educationally backward.

#### MINISTRY OF MINORITY AFFAIRS

On MMA's website many schemes are listed: (1) Various scholarship schemes; (2) Free coaching & allied schemes; (3) Nai Roshani; (4) Help for students clearing prelims conducted by UPSC/SPSCs; (5) Nalanda Project: Faculty Development Programme for Minority Higher Educational Institutions; and (6) Minority Cyber Gram.

On 30 March 2013, then Minority Minister K. Rahman Khan announced to establish five minority universities under Maulana Azad Education Foundation (MAEF). He also announced to open polytechnic colleges under PPP mode.<sup>16</sup> In December 2013, he planned a PF-like corpus, modelled after a Hajj fund in Malaysia, raised through contribution from the community. He hoped to raise a corpus of Rs. 10,000 to 15,000 crore for infrastructure development of higher education.<sup>17</sup> In January 2014, the MMA planned to start three schools, modelled on the lines of the Kendriya Vidyalayas, in Kishanganj, Ajmer and Mewat exclusively for minority communities through MAEF.<sup>18</sup> In March 2014, he announced to start Maulana Azad Sehat Scheme which aimed to provide medical facilities to students of primary and secondary schools managed by MAEF.<sup>19</sup> These announcements were made just before the election of 2014.

However, these schemes have badly failed in improving the educational condition of Muslims and also to enthuse the community members. It is difficult to assess and evaluate the impact of all these schemes on ground level as latest information about money sanctioned and released, money actually spent and number of beneficiaries are not available. Table 6.8 shows the poor participation of Muslim girls in KGBVs which were established in MCDs.

TABLE 6.8: MUSLIM GIRLS IN KGBVs  
ESTABLISHED IN MCDs

Name of KGBV Block	District	State	No. of Muslim Girls (Total no. of Girls)
Kewati	Darbhanga	Bihar	1(100)
Dhandaha	Purnea	Bihar	2(100)
Majhaulia	W. Champaran	Bihar	2(100)
R. Udyagiri	Gajapati	Odisha	0(100)
Rajpura	Badaun	UP	0(100)
Rahrabajar	Balrampur	UP	3(100)
Kiratpur	Bijnor	UP	0(72)
Barkhera	Pilibhit	UP	9(100)
Kalan	Shahjahanpur	UP	9(100)
English Bazar	Maldah	WB	0(30)
Amrapara	Pakur	Jharkhand	0(45)

Source: Report of the Standing Committee of the NMCME, May 2013.

#### SCHEMES/PROGRAMMES IN STATES

Some states have designed and are implementing educational schemes for minorities as per the local requirements. Bihar has started Mukhyamantri Alpsankhyak Education Loan implemented by Bihar State Minorities Finance Corporation Ltd. In UP, in 2011, Savitri Bai Phule Balika Shiksha Madad, a flagship scheme, was extended to girl students of recognized *madrasas*. Under 'Hamari Beti, Uska Ka', Muslim girls get Rs. 30,000 for higher education and marriage. In April 2012, to promote Urdu language, UP announced to open Urdu medium government schools at primary, middle and higher secondary levels in Muslim-dominated areas.<sup>20</sup> UP government, in September 2013, had announced to open 40 modern schools, one in each district where the Muslim population was more than 25 per cent.<sup>21</sup> The Higher Education Department of Kerala, in 2012, had planned to set up the Lal Bahadur Shastri Integrated Institute of Science and Technology in Malappuram, a Muslim-dominated district.<sup>22</sup> Manipur announced to establish a model school at Lilong; 4 per cent reservation for Muslims in admission to the newly-constructed polytechnic; construction of



hostels for Muslim students, development of school infrastructure in Muslim areas and coaching for Muslim students. In WB, 18 schemes for the development of minorities, mostly related to education are available on the weblink: [www.wbmdfc.org/Editor/uploaded/file/all\\_scheme\\_guide\\_lines.doc](http://www.wbmdfc.org/Editor/uploaded/file/all_scheme_guide_lines.doc). These schemes are: Hostel for minority students; infrastructural support to NGOs running education projects; and stipend for minority students. Besides, the government had decided to allot 20 acres of land for an integrated campus of Aliah University (AU). The TMC manifesto released in March 2016 promised a new medical college under the AU, Higher Secondary Schools in minority-inhabited districts, minority hostels near centres of higher education and more English-medium *madrasas* (TCN: 26 March 2016).

Maharashtra had decided to bring out a separate education policy for minority students. It decided to construct ITIs only for minorities in MCDs and to open a 100 bedded hostel for girl students of minority communities in all districts – construction of 16 hostels were in progress.<sup>23</sup> In 2010, second shift classes were started in 44 ITIs for minority students and 4,434 seats had been reserved. The government reserved 70 per cent seats in second shift of diploma engineering courses at seven government polytechnics in six districts ([http://twocircles.net/2012jun21/maha\\_govt\\_reserves\\_70\\_seats\\_minorities\\_7\\_polytechnics.html](http://twocircles.net/2012jun21/maha_govt_reserves_70_seats_minorities_7_polytechnics.html)). Later it had been extended in 12 government polytechnics and 2604 seats were reserved for minorities. The minority department had mooted a proposal to increase the strength of 8 medical colleges out of 17 in the state by 50 seats each and wanted those to be exclusively reserved for students of the minority communities.<sup>24</sup> In June 2013, the state government had planned to start 7 coaching centres for UPSC, MPSC, MPSC grade-III and banking services across the state for minority students.<sup>25</sup> Comparatively more efforts were made, more schemes initiated and greater results achieved in Maharashtra. This became possible only due to keen interest taken and able leadership provided by the then minority minister in the previous government, Arif (Naseem) Khan.

In March 2016, Telangana government announced to establish 70 new residential schools for students of minority communities (*Inquilab*, 11 March 2016).

## SCHOLARSHIP SCHEMES AND RELATED ISSUES

To encourage parents from minority communities to send their school-going children to school, lighten their financial burden, sustain their efforts to support their children to complete education, to arrest heavy drop-out and to help minorities improve their education, the UPA-I government started five major scholarship schemes under the PM's new 15-PP.

*Pre-Matric Scholarship*

It is awarded to students of a government or private school from class I to X who secure not less than 50 per cent marks in the previous final examination and annual income of their parents is not above Rs. 1 lakh. This came into effect from 1 April 2008 and 30 per cent of the scholarship is earmarked for girl students.

*Post-Matric Scholarship*

It is available to students of a government or a private higher secondary school/college/university pursuing studies of class XI to XII, UG course, PG course, M.Phil and PhD. It is awarded to students who secure not less than 50 per cent marks in the previous final examination and annual income of whose parents does not exceed Rs. 2 lakh. The scheme came into effect from 29 November 2007 wherein 30 per cent scholarship is earmarked for girls.

*Merit-cum-Means Scholarship*

It is given to students pursuing degree and/or PG level technical and professional courses, who score not less than 50 per cent marks in the previous examination and whose parents' annual income is not above Rs. 2.5 lakh.

*Maulana Azad National Fellowship*

It is implemented by MMA through UGC and is given in the form of five-year integrated fellowship to students pursuing M.Phil,

PhD and equivalent research degree in universities, research institutions and scientific institutions. Every year 756 fellowships are given in which 30 per cent is reserved for girl students. It is granted to students after admission in these courses when they qualify the norms set by the UGC including the minimum score of 50 per cent at PG level. The income ceiling for the parents is Rs. 2.5 lakh per year.

### *Padho Pradesh*

The scheme is applicable for higher studies in which interest subsidy is awarded to meritorious students belonging to economically weaker sections of minority communities to provide them better opportunities for higher education abroad and enhance their employability. It is given to students who have taken education loan from banks under the Education Loan Scheme of the Indian Banks Association (IBA) and whose parents' annual income is not more than Rs. 6 lakh per annum.

State-wise and community-wise distribution of these scholarships in different years can be seen on MMA's website.

### *Some Facts about Scholarship Schemes*

1. These scholarships had been UPA's flagship schemes for educational development of minorities. During 2012-13 and 2013-14 Rs. 3,600 crore worth of scholarships and fellowships were awarded to more than 1.58 crore minority students.
2. More than half of the annual budget of the MMA is spent on the scholarship and fellowship programmes. Still, it has not benefited all deserving students of the Muslim community. According to *Broken Promises*, only 17.7 per cent minority children have benefited from these much publicized schemes.
3. MCM scholarship presently caters the need of less than 10 per cent of deserving students.<sup>26</sup>
4. For post-matric and MCM scholarships, the MMA has started Online Scholarship Management System (OSMS) to make application. Besides, students having AADHAR number can directly

TABLE 6.9: NUMBER OF STUDENTS BENEFITED AND BUDGET SPENT, 2013-14

Scholarship	Muslim		Other Minorities		Total		Amount Sanctioned
	T	A	T	A	T	A	
Pre-Matric	29,17,000	63,01,184	10,83,000	14,93,006	40,00,000	77,94,190	963.70
Post-Matric	3,62,927	7,10,877	1,37,073	1,79,590	5,00,000	8,90,467	515.56
MCM	43,755	72,466	16,245	27,962	60,000	1,00,428	259.84
MANF*	—	494	—	202	—	756	—
Padho Pradesh#	—	—	—	—	—	573	—

Source: MMA.

Notes: T = Target, A = Achieved, \* : In 2014-15, # : In 2014.

receive the benefits in their bank accounts under Direct Benefit Transfer (DBT) scheme.

5. Some people went to High Courts and the Supreme Court and demanded scrapping of these schemes. A Pune-based social worker and educationist went to the Bombay HC through a PIL and argued that these schemes discriminated poor students on the basis of religion and such a classification would create a divide and communal discord among the poor communities. She also argued that the scholarships were aimed to benefit only some religious communities and with no evidence of back-wardness among other minorities, the benefits would be cornered by Muslims. The HC dismissed her petition on 6 June 2011. She went in appeal in the Supreme Court where also her petition was dismissed.<sup>27</sup>

### *Procedural Difficulties in Getting Scholarship Benefits*

For low coverage of these schemes, many factors are responsible.

1. *Opening Zero-balance Bank Account:* Students get benefit of pre-matric scholarship via cheques, for which they need to have a bank account. RBI has circulated guidelines to open 'zero-balance bank account' for these schemes. In spite of RBI guidelines, nationalized banks are unwilling to open such accounts. The students and their parents face harassment from the banks. In 2013, officers of Bank of Maharashtra at Nanded, refused to open such accounts and allegedly demanded bribes of Rs. 1,000 to 5,000 for the same.<sup>28</sup>
2. *Closure of Bank Accounts:* Processing of scholarships and reimbursement takes 8-9 months and in some states even more than a year. Many students found their names in the list of selected students but when they approached the bank their accounts were closed. The banks informed the students that as per RBI guidelines if an account was non-functional for more than six months, it could be closed.
3. *Problems with Cheques:* Under the pre-matric scholarship, the students receive the 'Maintenance Allowance' through cheques.

But in many cases the cheques are returned or become invalid due to some reasons: Cheques of one school are sent to another school and by the time the actual students receive them, they become invalid; names of the students are not correctly written; cheques are sent to the schools or to the students after the expiry of the dates; and sometimes cheques bounce due to insufficient funds in the account. For example, West Bengal Minorities Development and Finance Corporation (WBMDFC) had distributed pre-matric scholarship for the year 2012-13 to nearly 12 lakh students. However, 78,000 cheques were reported to have bounced due to insufficient funds in the WBMDFC account or the cheques reached after the expiry of the dates.<sup>29</sup>

4. *Lack of Awareness*: There is lack of awareness about these schemes among the students, parents and school teachers as to what is the scheme and how to fill the forms. As a result, large number of students who are eligible are unable to get benefit. For instance, against the target of 48,157 post-matric scholarships, only 4,000 applications had been uploaded in Mumbai in 2011.
5. *Negligent Attitude of Authorities*: Many students do not avail the scheme due to negligent attitude of concerned authorities. In Bhiwandi in the previous four years till 2012, only 120 students out of 18,978 had actually received pre-matric scholarships. This was attributed to poor implementation and negligent attitude of authorities.
6. *Difficult Procedures*: Many parents are aware of the schemes but they cannot fill the forms due to difficult procedures. They face difficulties in getting the income certificates and other documents. Many are not aware about the deadlines for submission of application.
7. *Online Application*: For post-matric scholarships, the students have to fill up the form online in which they face difficulties due to poor internet connectivity, technical errors and problems in taking the print-outs.
8. *Unwillingness of States to Contribute their Share*: For pre-matric scholarship, the central government contributes 75 per cent and the concerned state 25 per cent of the total fund. Many states have not been contributing 25 per cent share due to un-

willingness and other political reasons. Students in these states are deprived of the benefit. As per a news of 2012, some states such as Gujarat, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Goa, Sikkim, Uttarakhand, Lakshadweep and A&N Islands did not contribute their 25 per cent share and as a result students of those states had not availed the benefit during the previous three years.<sup>30</sup>

### *Gujarat's Refusal to Implement*

Educationally, Muslims are the most deprived community in Gujarat. Muslims register large drop-outs at about standard V and only 26 per cent reach matriculation level. Muslims have been left behind by SCs/STs as far as higher education is concerned. The disparity in access to higher education is increasing over time. This is an evidence of discrimination in provisioning of higher education access, infrastructure and related services.<sup>31</sup> In spite of these facts, the Gujarat government refused to implement the pre-matric scholarship scheme on the grounds that it discriminated the students on the grounds of religion. There were 55,000 scholarships allocated to Gujarat of which 53,000 were to be given to Muslim students. As a result those scholarships lapsed.

In 2011 then Congress MLA Gayasuddin Shaikh raised the issue in the State Assembly but the government did not reply. Then GPCC President Arjun Modhwadia and then leader of opposition Shaktisingh Gohil approached then PM to direct the state to implement the scheme. With no sign of compliance from the state, Adam Chaki, a social worker and Congress leader from Kutch approached the Gujarat HC through a PIL and prayed the court to direct the state to implement the scheme. The argument of the state government in defence of its stand is the classic case of hiding behind the curtain of 'formal equality' guaranteed by the Constitution. The government argued that the scheme created a class within the class on the basis of religion and would create 'heart-burning' and 'discriminatory feeling' amongst the other low income students. However, the HC on 15 February 2013, upheld the constitutional validity and directed the government to implement it. The majority opinion in the Bench held that the scholarship is an 'essential

diversion of funds for social upliftment' and an 'affirmative action' which could not be equated with reservation.<sup>32</sup>

Rather than implementing the scheme, the state government appealed in the SCI against the Gujarat HC order. On 6 May 2013, the SCI refused to stay the HC order. Since then the appeal is pending in Court. Finally the state government announced to implement the scheme. Commenting on it, J.S. Bandukwala said it was unfortunate that the state government had to wait for court orders to implement the scheme for poor minority students. It indicated the biased mindset of the state against minorities.

### *Comparison with Scholarships Given to SCs/STs*

Ministry of SJE provides seven different types of scholarships to the students of SCs/STs. A comparison is needed here with these scholarships with those given by the MMA. Annual income of parents should not exceed Rs. 2 lakh for MSJE pre-matric scholarship while it is only Rs. 1 lakh for MMA's. Amount given in MSJE scheme is higher than in those given by the MMA. For MMA scholarships, there is an additional condition that the student should secure at least 50 per cent marks in the previous exam. For MSJE scholarships, conditions are comparatively simple and easy. Several Muslim organizations have demanded from the central government for parity between the scholarships given to minority students with those given to SC/ST students.

### *Private Scholarships*

List of organizations offering scholarships to Muslim students can be found on: [www.wnymuslims.org](http://www.wnymuslims.org). It listed 62 organizations that offer scholarships as well as six organizations that offer awards to meritorious Muslim students.<sup>33</sup> An exhaustive list of organizations offering scholarships can be found on: [muslimmirror.com](http://muslimmirror.com). It provides the list of government departments as well. Various Muslim organizations such as Jamiat Ulama-e-Maharashtra, PFI, AMU Alumni Association, etc., have been offering scholarships to talented students that include students from Hindu community also.



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR MINORITY  
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS (NCMEI)

The NCMEI was constituted under the NCMEI Act, 2005 (notified on 6 January 2005) to protect and safeguard the educational institutions which are established by the minorities. The Commission looks after the complaints about violation or deprivation of rights of the minorities to set up and manage educational institutions of their own choice. During the passage of the Bill in the parliament, then main opposition party, the BJP, had vehemently opposed it. The NCMEI is a 'quasi-judicial' commission which is headed by a chairman and has other two members appointed by the central government. It is bestowed with the powers of a Civil Court. In case of any kind of dispute between a university and a minority educational body, it has the power to take final decision.

*Important Functions.* To recommend the state or the central government on issues related to minority education; to intervene in proceedings that involve the violation and deprivation of educational rights of minorities; to undertake measures for the promotion and preservation of the status of minority institutions; to decide on all questions pertaining to the position of minority educational institutions; and to recommend implementation of various programmes associated with the educational institutions of minorities.

Although, since its origin the NCMEI has faced many difficulties, it has granted minority status to many minority-run educational institutions, which were otherwise, unable to get the status from the concerned state governments or the district administration. From 1 January 2011 to 31 March 2013, it granted minority status to 4,070 schools and colleges that included 123 *madrasas*.<sup>34</sup> Maharashtra had seen an increase of nearly 236 per cent in 9 years in the number of educational institutions being issued minority status certificates, from 11 in 2005 to 37 in 2013. Overall it issued 8,948 minority status certificates till 12 December 2013, which was a steep rise from 21 in 2005. See Table 6.10.

It granted minority status to Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI) on 22 February 2011 which allowed it to reserve 50 per cent seats for Muslims. Now it is the only central university which has minority status. The decision was not liked much in the Congress circles.<sup>36</sup> The

TABLE 6.10: MINORITY CERTIFICATES BY NCMEI

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Total*
Maharashtra	7	3	2	17	37	148
India	848	1,122	1,656	1,965	1,670	8,948

Source: Data released by the NCMEI.<sup>35</sup>

Note: \*Total for 9 years, since 2005.

JMI which is also called as 'Nursery of Terror' by Hindu right-wing politicians, produces over 100 Hindu PhD scholars every year (TCN: 27 November 2014). The Law Ministry in the present NDA government is learnt to have given the advice to the MHRD to oppose the minority status given to the JMI (*The Indian Express*, 15 January 2016). Mohammad Ali Jauhar University, started on 18 September 2006 and finally inaugurated on 18 September 2012, was granted minority status on 28 May 2013 by the NCMEI. Now it is a private university with minority status. The decision sent a wave of jubilation in Muslim community in UP which was the result of hard work and continuous follow up of Azam Khan.

There are institutions which have been granted minority status by the NCMEI, still they have been deprived of the same by the concerned state. Millat College of Darbhanga in Bihar, established by the local Muslims in 1957, is an example of state government neglect. The NCMEI gave its verdict in 2009 in favour of the college, still the Bihar government has not restored its minority status. The NCMEI Act, 2005 is an important tool for Muslims' educational progress. It should be studied minutely and used properly for gaining maximum benefit in getting the minority status for minority-run institutions.

#### NATIONAL MONITORING COMMITTEE FOR MINORITIES' EDUCATION (NMCME)

The MHRD had constituted an NMCME to look into the issues of minority education and monitor the effectiveness of various schemes being run for educational progress of the minorities. It was reconstituted on 23 December 2011. The first meeting of the

reconstituted NMCME was held on 5 March 2012 at which it was decided to constitute a Standing Committee and its five sub-committees. The standing committee of the NMCME was notified on 27 April 2012 and five sub-committees were also formed. Objective of the standing committee and its 5 sub-committees are: (1) To monitor the minority related schemes being run by the MHRD; (2) To suggest modifications in the schemes of the MHRD for specific needs and requirements of minorities; (3) To study the reports of previous committees related to minority education and suggest ways and means to implement their recommendations; (4) To suggest a monitoring mechanism for schemes being run by the MHRD; and (5) Any other important issues related to minority education.

Five sub-committees and their mandates are: (1) Implementation of Schemes Aimed at Minorities: For monitoring and modification of minority related schemes; (2) Mapping of Educational Requirements of Minorities-Regions & Districtwise (under PA Inamdar) to monitor educational requirements; (3) Vocational education and Skill Development of Minorities, to ensure trained teachers for vocational courses, etc.; (4) Girl's Education (under Prof. Zakia Siddiqui) to look into factors impeding education among girls; and (5) Promotion of Urdu Language and enhance compatibility amongst minorities through knowledge of English (under Akhtarul Wasey) to enhance employment through knowledge of Urdu.<sup>37</sup>

In all, the Standing Committee and five sub-committees held 32 meetings across the country and submitted a report in April 2013 which can be found on the website of MHRD.

Major recommendations include: (1) Creation of a data bank to capture data of enrolment at all levels; (2) Set up two Navodaya Vidyalayas in each 90 MCDs; (3) Bring scholarship eligibility and amount at par with SCs, admit students without fee and let the institutions seek reimbursement from the government; (4) Under scheme of Model Schools in PPP, at least 10 per cent be given to minority institutions; (5) Set up a Diversity Index in higher educational institutions; and (6) NMCME to classify institutions by courses offered, minority community and medium of instruction and to set up a computerized data base for this.

## AMU OFF-CAMPUS CENTRES

In 1875, while laying the foundation of the MAO College, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had said that the seed would mature into a mighty tree whose roots would sprout saplings. Today, AMU has become more than a Muslim university; a symbol of the middle class Muslims; and a beacon of hope for the emancipation of the community from educational backwardness. Any expansion of AMU will represent the fulfilment of the vision of its founder who had seen AMU's future not just as one college but as a catalyst for the establishment of a network of AMU. It should be noted that the first IIT was established at Kharagpur in 1954. By utilizing its academic experience, curriculum, bodies of teachers and students, more autonomous IITs were built at many places. In 1995 when I was at IIT Kanpur there were five IITs and today we have 16 IITs at different places in India.

Realizing the educational needs of Muslims as well as taking clue from the IIT experience, late Arjun Singh, then Minister of MHRD allowed the AMU to establish five off-campus centres in 2008-9. Consequently the central government announced to establish 5 AMU centres at Murshidabad, Malappuram, Kishanganj, Aurangabad and Bhopal in the 2009-10 Union Budget. AMU accepted the challenge and started work on it. The plan called for the five off-campus centres to grow under AMU administration at Aligarh and transferring academic know-how, administrative skills and teaching staff to these centres. Subsequently, the AMU sent proposals to five states – WB, Kerala, Bihar, Maharashtra and MP – with request to provide land. Its team also visited these states for site selection and coordination with the state government. After vigorous follow up by the community members and NGOs, only three centres have been established so far. See Table 6.11.

Although the Maharashtra government had identified a 260 acre land at Sulibhanjan, 25 km from Aurangabad, it had not been allotted officially for the centre. The NEWS chairman Aleem Faizee, had succeed in getting requisite clearance from the concerned department for a 900 acre land situated in Malegaon for this purpose. With the effort of then Deputy Mayor, Sajju Lala, Parbhani Municipal Corporation also passed an unanimous reso-

TABLE 6.11: CURRENT POSITION OF AMU OFF-CAMPUS CENTRES

Centres Located at, State	Land Allotted (in acres)	Centre Started or not	Centre started in	Courses at the start	Fund Released in beginning	Organization that took follow up
Murshidabad, WB		Started	February 2011	MBA & BA LLB	108 (crore)	SIO
Malappuram, Kerala	336	Started	February 2011	MBA & BA LLB	105 (crore)	SIO
Kishanganj, Bihar	224.02	Started	November 2013	B.Ed. & MBA	136.82* (crore)	Human Chain
Aurangabad, Maharashtra	N.A.	No	—	—	—	NEWS** SIO
Bhopal, MP	N.A.	No	—	—	—	SIO

Source: Various sources and information collected on phone.

Notes: \* N.A.: Land not allotted so far; Fund not released so far. But RTI reply reveals the GoI is ready to allocate Rs.136.82 crore for AMU Kishanganj;<sup>38</sup>

\*\* Noble Education and Welfare Society, Malegaon;

SIO: Student Islamic Organisation.

lution offering land for the AMU centre at Parbhani. The previous NCP-Congress government, unnecessarily sat on the proposal despite the identification and physical verification of a suitable land by the AMU team in October 2011 in Malegaon. The government deliberately delayed it for the fear of opposition from Shiv Sena and BJP. The present BJP government in the state has hinted that establishing the AMU off-campus centre is not in its agenda.<sup>39</sup> The MP government outrightly rejected the proposal and declined to provide land in Bhopal as requested by the AMU.<sup>40</sup>

The decision to establish five off-campus centres was taken by then government keeping in mind the higher educational backwardness of Muslims. These centres would go a long way in ensuring easy access of education for the middle class Muslims. Unfortunately, due to unwillingness of the state government to provide requisite land and central government to allocate fund, all the centres have not been opened and are not functioning properly.

In March 2016, the then HRD Minister Smriti Irani threatened to close down the AMU centres. Some sources quoting her said, 'Whatever the centre got was illegally done by former UPA Government. We are going to close down the Aligarh Muslim University itself as it is non-productive in terms of education' (TCN). Subsequently, AMU Vice-Chancellor met Narendra Modi and told him that the centres that Mrs. Irani had called illegal, had been, in fact sanctioned by the President and the government (TCN).

#### PLAN TO ESTABLISH FIVE MINORITY UNIVERSITIES

In 2009, then Minority Minister Salman Khurshid had announced to establish five minority universities: (1) Rafi Ahmad Kidwai University, Kishanganj; (2) Tipu Sultan University, Mysore; (3) Khwaja Gharib Nawaz University, Ajmer; (4) An area with sizeable Buddhist population preferably in Maharashtra; and (5) An area with sizeable Christian population preferably in Kerala. When announced, it was opposed by anti-Muslim forces. Unfortunately, professors from Mysore University also opposed it and said that the proposed university would breed terrorists.<sup>41</sup> The

central government began to go on the issue slowly. After few years, the then minority minister set up a Committee under the chairmanship of Sukhdeo Thorat to suggest modalities for establishing those universities. It submitted its report in April 2013 which concluded that: The Parliament can't set up a minority university with public money and thus these institutions can be set up as central universities with their focus on minorities. It also suggested that informal arrangements can be made to help minority students by relaxing admission norms such as by awarding them grace marks in the entrance test.<sup>42</sup> Having seen the unfavourable recommendations, the MMA dropped the idea.

#### CONTROVERSY OVER CONVERTING 3AMU CENTRES AS INDEPENDENT MINORITY UNIVERSITIES

Having failed to set up the above-mentioned five minority universities, the MMA started another controversial move. In May-June 2013, it had sent a proposal to AMU to take over three off-campus centres at Murshidabad, Malappuram and Kishanganj to convert them as independent minority university. AMU Registrar had confirmed the receipt of the proposal and informed that the AMU court, the apex body of the university, had given its consent during its meeting held on 12 June 2013. If converted into independent minority university, some consequences may appear: (1) Currently funding is done by the MHRD and after the decision, this will be done by the MAEF under MMA; (2) They will become independent universities and AMU will have no control over them; and (3) The move may invite technical and legal problems as government cannot set up a minority institution.

The move was not liked by the Muslim community in general and the AMU alumni in particular. It came as a shocker for those wishing to see the off-campus centres of AMU outside Aligarh in Muslim-dominated areas. The alumni had dreamt of five replicas of AMU in different parts of India.<sup>43</sup> Dr. Mohammad Asif Khan, a prominent faculty and elected member of the executive council of AMU, expressed his views which is worth mentioning here. He says that a number of violent protests by BJP, RSS, VHP, etc., against

AMU's centre in Bihar, WB and Kerala are on record. These elements also filed several writ petitions in different High Courts against those centres. He also says that saffron elements present in the Congress have never been honest for the progress and development of the Muslims. Ninety per cent of the students studying in professional courses at these centres are Muslims. Most of the non-teaching staff are Muslims from local areas. Saffron elements in the Congress are not able to digest these positive developments. Hence, they want to snatch away these centres and convert them into central minority universities.<sup>44</sup>

### COMMUNITY INITIATIVE

In the post-Sachar era, community members and leaders got saddened by the educational backwardness. They started thinking on salvaging their own situation internally. This era has witnessed a number of NGOs, organizations, societies, charitable trusts springing up throughout the country. This has led to various educational awareness programmes, setting up of schools, colleges, coaching centres, scholarships for talented students, etc.

### AWARENESS PROGRAMMES

Saiyid Hamid (1920-2014), along with other Muslim intellectuals started the 'All India Talimi Karvan' in 1992 to promote educational awareness among Indian Muslims. During the Karvan he visited Muslim-dominated areas and stressed on literacy and education. This continued till recently. Hussain Dalwai, an MP from Maharashtra, organized a 'Conference on Educational Challenges in the Muslim Community' in May 2013. It was attended by over 2,000 delegates from across the country. A national seminar on 'Professionalization of Education: Problems and Opportunities for Indian Muslims' was organized by the Centre for Promotion of Education and Cultural Advancements of Muslims of India at AMU. Daudi Educational Trust in association with Human Chain organized a programme titled 'Bihar Taleemi Carvan' at Jalkora village in Khagaria district. It was attended by more than 10,000 people



including ministers and leaders. AFMI organized an International Education Convention in Guwahati in 2013. Burooz Realization held a conference called 'Milky Way Education Summit-2014' in February 2014 in Chennai. It brought together teachers, educators and researchers to consider challenges and problems faced by Muslim-run schools and to seek solutions to overcome them. The Fourth 'World Education Summit' was held in August 2014 in New Delhi which was attended by representatives and experts of Muslim educational institutions. During the summit, educationists stressed that 96 per cent of the Muslim students seek non-religious education and thus the government should shift its focus from *madrasas* to modern mainstream education. Al Misbah Education Trust of Assam held an education meeting in March 2013 in Guwahati in which educational condition of Muslims of Assam was deliberated. Likewise, several awareness programmes have been held in different parts of India to highlight the problems and possible solutions.

#### SOME OTHER IMPORTANT INITIATIVES

To develop education of Muslims in India, the Association of Indian Muslims of America (AIM) has built four schools, one ITI at Jamalpur in Ahmedabad and three higher secondary schools in Hathras, Faizabad and Muzaffarnagar district. AIM's plan comprises building one school every two years in different parts of India. These schools are run through local charitable organizations. The PFI had been conducting the 'School Chalo Campaign' as part of their education awareness effort which included educational surveys, distribution of school kits, students and parents awareness, felicitation of talented students, re-enrolment of dropouts, etc. It covered 15 states and a total 1,16,595 school kits worth Rs. 33,027,000 were distributed to students in 2013. Besides, the PFI distributes scholarships for higher education and conducts talents search examination for students at young age.<sup>45</sup>

Human Welfare Foundation (HWF) of Patna under guidance of M. Naushad Ansari, a retired beaurucrat, has been conducting Talent Search test to raise the percentage of Muslims in National

Talent Search Examination (NTSE) and other competitive examinations. HWF ([www.hwfindia.org](http://www.hwfindia.org)) is working to establish multifarious institutions across the country for the betterment of weaker sections of the society. Human Chain, an NGO from Bihar, has been organizing free coaching for admission in JNVs. RISE, an NGO started by three IITians in J&K, has started a programme to give coaching to 40 talented students for JEE. Muslim Students Organization (MSO) of AP has launched a door-to-door education awareness campaign to help poor parents get their wards admitted in schools. Superior Group of Institution at Mau in UP has been organizing Talent Spotter Examination and giving awards to meritorious students. Rahbar Coaching Centre of Patna has been organizing free coaching for students of class VIII, IX and X of government schools on a large scale in Bihar. Shirur Muslim Jamaat under Iqbalbhai Saudagar is very active in rural parts of Pune district for educational upliftment of Muslim women.

#### INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVES

There are many enlightened individuals who are making effort to bring educational development among Muslims. Ajmal Foundation of Maulana Badruddin Ajmal located at Hojai, has established 11 colleges in Hojai and other districts of Assam. Besides, it gives free coaching for medical and engineering tests to students belonging to all minorities. Maharashtra Cosmopolitan Education Society at Pune, with 24 acre campus and 40 buildings, popularly known as Azam Campus is currently running 29 educational institutes with more than 27,000 students. Maulana Gulam Mohd. Wastanvi runs Jamia Islamia Ishaatul Uloom, Akkalkuwa. It runs a series of colleges and educational institutes in Nandurbar district of Maharashtra. Maulana Mohd. Fazlur Rahim Mujaddidi runs Maulana Abdur Rahim Educational Trust with many schools and colleges. Late Shah Mohammed Hussaini was running Khaja Education Society which runs 15 educational institutions in Gulbarga including an Engineering and a Medical College. B.S. Abdur Rahman (d. January 2015) had started several schools and colleges in TN. He started a large women's college in the memory of his

sister and set up Crescent Engineering College in 1984 which had been upgraded as University in 2009. Syed Zafar Mahmood runs Zakat Foundation ([www.zakatindia.org](http://www.zakatindia.org)). He is doing lot of hard work and making effort to create awareness among the community about education and also running coaching centres as well as scholarship schemes for meritorious students. Al-Ameen Education Society (of Dr. Mumtaz Ahmed Khan), established in 1966 in Bangalore, is running 20 branches of Al-Ameen Education Society and 135 institutions throughout Karnataka and serving nearly 45,000 students. Abdul Qadeer runs Shaheen Group of Institutions which is running world class educational centres in Bidar, Karnataka and serving more than 8,000 students. Late Dr. Rafique Zakaria started Maulana Azad Education Society in 1963 at Aurangabad in Maharashtra. Now it has two campuses and 17 educational institutions, successfully run by Mrs. Fatima Zakaria. Maulana Mohammed Wali Rahmani runs Jamia Rahmani. He has established many colleges and coaching centres for IIT and medical colleges.

Besides, Fakhrul Islam (Frank Islam), a US-based businessman established an ITI exclusively for girls at Azamgarh. Mohammed Saleem Khaleefa of Gulbarga, Nurul Islam from WB and many enlightened individuals are doing a lot in the field of education.

## TWO REVOLUTIONARY INITIATIVES

### SCHOLAR BATCH

It is a free coaching programme for meritorious students for admission into reputed medical and engineering colleges. Started in 1999, it is being run by M.A. Rangoonwala Trust, Pune and supported by Allana Foundation under guidance of P.A. Inamdar. Every year 200 students, who score more than 80 per cent in class X board examination, are taken and given coaching. Almost all students have been successfully getting into medical, engineering and other professional colleges every year. Prompted by its success rate, the MMA had decided to implement the scheme in 9 states: AP, Assam, Bihar, Delhi, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Punjab, UP and

WB. In 2013, since it was already late, the project could be implemented only in WB, Karnataka and Maharashtra.<sup>46</sup>

#### RAHMANI-30

It is a free residential coaching programme for admission into IITs through IIT-JEE for underprivileged meritorious Muslim students of India. The centre, located at Patna, is run by Munger-based Rahmani Foundation under patronage of Maulana Mohammad Wali Rahmani and academic mentorship of Abhayanand, Ex-DGP of Bihar. Every year it selects students on the basis of written test and interview and gives them special coaching free of cost for two years so that these students could enter into IITs. Students appearing for their class X board examination can appear for Rahmani-30 admission test which consists of questions from Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics of class X standard. Detail about the test can be obtained from [www.twocircles.net/rahmani-30](http://www.twocircles.net/rahmani-30) or <http://www.facebook.com/pages/Rahmani-30/395185913911869>. In 2013, its test were conducted at many centres in Bihar, Jharkhand, WB, UP, Maharashtra, MP, Delhi, Gujarat and Manipur.

This experiment has been very successful. The first Rahmani-30 batch began with only 10 students on its roll. All 10 students made it to IIT in 2009. Twelve students in 2010, 15 in 2011, 16 in 2012, 8 in 2013 and 13 in 2014 were selected for admission into IITs. In 2016, 80 students appeared for IIT-JEE advanced test and 46 out of them cleared it.

Besides this, Rahmani-30 is also running the coaching programme for the Chartered Accountancy entrance examination. Rahmani Wave venture is initiated to take additional students at new centres. It has also started coaching for admission into premier medical colleges. This new centre is running from Millat College, Darbhanga in Bihar. In 2012, Rahmani-30 centre was started in Hyderabad also. Maulana Wali Rahmani is planning to open similar centres in other cities of India.

If these two ventures are replicated in other cities with local help and resources, representation of Muslims in IITs and other premier institutions would certainly increase.

## SUCCESS STORIES

There is no dearth of educational talent in Muslims and weak economical condition cannot deter them from achieving academic excellence. With self-motivation and hard-work, they are making fast strides in education. Some success stories are presented here that can inspire millions of other students.

Javed Akhtar, son of a hawker on the streets of Patna, cleared IIT-JEE and took admission at IIT Kanpur in 2013. Moin Khan from Indore scored 187 marks out of 200 and came first in the Engineering Entrance Test of MP in 2013. Nazar Mohammed from Rajgarh near Indore appeared in the list of top 10 student in the Pre-Pharmacy Test of MP in 2013. A. Mohammad Navas, a slum boy in Madurai who worked as a daily wage labour in a bicycle manufacturing workshop, topped TN Engineering Admission Test scoring 194.5 out of 200 marks in 2013. S. Syed Ali Fathima, daughter of a cattle feed seller in Othakadai town in TN, topped the State Medical Entrance Test by scoring 197 out of 200 marks in 2013. Mohammed Ashraf from Ghaziabad, topped the B. Tech entrance test at JMI by scoring 147.5 marks out of 170 in 2013. Wasiquir Rahman from Muzaffarpur district topped Bihar Medical Entrance Examination in 2014. At 61st convocation ceremony of Gujarat University, eight Muslim students bagged 15 out of 118 gold medals in different fields of higher education in 2013. Shamina who is the daughter of a fitter and a graduate in Home Science bagged three gold medals. Tayyab Khan who received five scholarships in Sanskrit, got two gold medals. Yasmin Bano got a gold medal in Sanskrit.<sup>47</sup> S.A. Salma Haseena, daughter of a junior engineer, topped Chennai Secondary School Leaving Certificate (SSLC) exams held in 2013. She scored 491 out of total 500 marks. Md. Helaluddin Shah topped the High School Leaving Certificate Examination 2013 of Nagaland Board by securing 577 marks out of 600 in 2013. Aminul Ahsan of South Dinajpur district ranked 6th in Secondary Examination of WB Board in 2013 by scoring 675 out of 700 marks.

In 2015, Shadma Khanam from Begusarai topped the Intermediate Arts Examination of Bihar Board with 82 per cent marks.

Besides her, Ishrat Bano (4th), Shama Khatoon (7th), Nazia Sultana (8th) and Shama Parveen (10th) were the other four girls who came in the top ten position. Mohammed Mursalin Islam of Nadia district of WB topped the Joint Admission Test for MSc Physics for IISc-IIT in 2016. Sarfaraz Hussain of Guwahati topped Assam's High School Board with 590 marks (98.3 per cent) in 2016. Four Muslim students came in top 10 list of Kerala Medical Entrance Test in 2016. Munavvar VV (1st), Rameesa Jahan MP (4th), Asif Aban K (7th) and Nihala A (10th) appeared in top 10. Arshiya Choudhari from Solapur became 2nd topper in Maharashtra Medical Entrance Test in 2016 by scoring 199 out of 200 marks.

## SUGGESTIONS

### STATE LEVEL

(1) The community has attained 100 per cent literacy in Kerala while other states depict pathetic condition of Muslims who are lagging far behind in all fields of education. The centre as well as all states should adopt the same attitude and planning as implemented by Kerala state; (2) When issues related to Muslims' education come before the states, they deliberately target *madrasas* in terms of schemes and fund allocation. They should note that only 4 per cent children go to the *madrasas* and today Muslims demand mainstream education. Therefore, the government should make mainstream schools and allocate more funds to them; (3) Concerned ministries should create a data bank to capture data on all issues of educational attainment in Muslims; (4) Two JNVs in each of MCDs and under MHRD's scheme of establishing 2,500 model schools in PPP mode, at least 10 per cent be given to minority institutions; (5) Even the premier institutions in the US take into consideration the deprivation of minorities while admitting students. Keeping in mind the poor representation of Muslims in premier institutions, there is an urgent need to formulate a policy – either in terms of reservations or through diversity index – to increase their share up to a satisfactory level; (6) AMU's minority character should be restored with the help of a legisla-

tion in the Parliament and sufficient funds can be allotted to AMU's off-campus centres which are already functioning and land can be allotted to Aurangabad and Bhopal centres; (7) Bring scholarship eligibility and amount at par with SC students and admit students without fee and let the institution seek reimbursement; (8) More good quality mainstream schools can be opened in minority dominated blocks; (9) Muslim attitude to education is poor and indifferent as they claim that their educational qualification does not provide them a job. As they are unable to get government job, their investment in education is poor. Eligible sections of Muslims should be given proper reservation in jobs and admissions on the basis of their social and educational backwardness, which will encourage them to invest in education.

#### COMMUNITY LEVEL

Building mosques is a noble task. Make sure that every new mosque built henceforth has an English or Urdu medium school.

AKBARUDDIN OWAISI

(while laying the foundation of a school  
in Malegaon on 27 February 2015)

Muslims are equally responsible for their educational backwardness. To integrate themselves into the national mainstream, they should focus their energy on education to convert themselves into a totally literate and skilled community. They are advised to take some concrete steps: (1) Rather than focusing on religious and Urdu education, their focus should be on mainstream education which could give them employment and enhance the mainstreaming; (2) Muslim NGOs/organizations should organize seminars, lectures, workshops, discussions, etc., to create awareness in the community; (3) In south India, Muslims have established 16 medical and more than 100 engineering colleges to provide technical education which can be emulated by Muslims of north Indian states; (4) In 2013, K. Rahman Khan had suggested that Muslims should make an effort to mobilize their own resources and establish educational institutions on their own. He also advised to

create a Rs. 50,000 crore educational fund. If we assume that Muslims live in 1,000 blocks/tahsil/talukas in significant number, then Rs. 50 crore per block has to be raised as educational fund. If half of this fund is raised and mainstream schools are built on a 2-3 acre land, it can bring educational revolution in the community;<sup>48</sup> (5) Besides educational institutions, it is also necessary to improve quality of teachers and educational standard in the community-run institutions; and (6) Besides Rahmani-30 and Scholar Batch, several free coaching centres have been started all over the country. Still our share in IIT, IIM and other premier colleges is dismal. The reason is: Less number of Muslim students sit in the entrance exams. Thus the 'top down' approach has failed. The answer to this situation is 'bottom up' approach which means Muslims have to increase the number of appearing students by establishing quality schools and creating talent at the bottom level.

#### INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

For educational progress, some minimum initiative is required on the individual level also. (1) Feeling of discrimination at competitive exams has no substantive proof. Muslim students selected in IITs, IIMs, AIIMS, etc., do not face any discrimination. So, the parents should send their wards to schools of mainstream education without keeping fear in mind that their children would be discriminated in getting admission to institutes of higher learning; (2) Poor households may cut their monthly expenditure to support the education of their children; (3) Muslim individuals interested in community's educational progress can use the provisions of RTI to get information pertaining to educational schemes, fund allocation, scholarships, admission in premier schools and colleges. On the basis of information received, they can demand their share in admissions and all educational schemes; (4) Muslim students should be more focused and work hard to achieve educational excellence; and (5) Muslim students are required to generate the feeling that only hard work can bring success and along with individual success they have extra responsibility of taking out the community from educational deprivation.



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## CHAPTER 7

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# Urdu

A pettiness in mind, narrowness in outlook and an immaturity that characterized a deliberate attempt to push out Urdu which is spoken and written by a large number of people (in India).

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

(in a letter to all CMs on 16 July 1953)

## INTRODUCTION

Urdu is a secular language which is spoken by every sect and in all region of the country. Described as a symbol of our composite culture, it has played a vital role in the freedom struggle and in communal harmony. Urdu originated from Khari Boli, a Prakrit spoken in north India, by adding Persian and Arabic words to it. Contrary to the popular belief, it did not originate in the camp of the Mughal armies. Earlier it was called Hindavi and Dehlavi. But the name Urdu was first used by poet Ghulam Hamadani Mushafi around 1780. It flourished during British rule and in 1837 it replaced Persian as the official language and was made co-official along with English.<sup>1</sup> It is recognized as one of the 22 languages now listed in Schedule VIII of the Constitution (see Table 7.1).

As per a report published in Saudi Arabia in 2015, with 588 million speakers Urdu was the second most spoken language after Chinese with 1.39 billion speakers while English and Arabic were on third and fourth position ([www.ummid.com](http://www.ummid.com)). In India, although the absolute number of Urdu speakers has increased over the years, its percentage to overall population has consistently gone down (see Table 7.2).

Nobody can deny its sweetness. As per the report of the Centre

TABLE 7.1: DISTRIBUTION OF URDU SPEAKERS;  
TOP 10 STATES\*

Rank	State	Urdu Speakers		
		Male	Female	Total
1.	UP	2,09,47,596	1,93,24,484	4,02,72,080
2.	Bihar	88,91,011	85,66,537	1,74,57,548
3.	Maharashtra	46,47,547	42,47,954	88,95,501
4.	Telangana & AP	43,51,545	42,23,488	85,75,033
5.	Karnataka	34,30,719	31,09,191	65,39,910
6.	Jharkhand	22,06,458	21,17,953	43,24,411
7.	MP	21,80,019	20,06,345	41,86,364
8.	Delhi	13,73,117	13,01,216	26,74,333
9.	WB	9,14,087	7,39,652	16,53,739
10.	Rajasthan	7,81,000	6,81,002	14,62,002
	All Other States	20,07,063	18,88,146	38,95,209
Total India		51,730,162	48,205,968	99,936,130

Source: Wikipedia (downloaded on 8 March 2015).

Note: \* Census Data with estimated Figures of 2014.

TABLE 7.2: NUMBER\* AND PERCENTAGE OF  
URDU SPEAKERS

Year	Urdu Speakers	% of Total Population	Rank in India
1971	5,86,20,895	10.698	4
1981	6,49,41,435	9.500	3
1991	7,34,06,932	8.672	3
2001	8,15,36,111	7.920	3
2011	9,10,61,078	7.524	3**

Source: [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/states\\_of\\_India\\_by\\_Urdu\\_speakers](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/states_of_India_by_Urdu_speakers) (Percentage is calculated from the number of Urdu speakers taken from Wikipedia divided by the total population of concerned Census)

Notes: \* Number of persons who claimed Urdu as their mother tongue; \*\*: Based on previous trend, no language-wise data of 2011 is available.

for Bio-Medical Research (CBMR), study of Urdu not only provides peace of mind and heart but it is good for mental health also. Learning Urdu can keep you away from many mental diseases.<sup>2</sup>

Karnataka CM Siddaramaiah asked the Bangalore Police to start learning Urdu to understand how to be polite while speaking to the public. Former Bihar CM Jitan Ram Manjhi regretted that he didn't know Urdu though it was a sweet and beautiful language. He had planned to hire a teacher to learn Urdu. It has contributed a lot in the freedom struggle and cultural development of India. It has the capacity to strengthen our national unity. In spite of all this, it is being sidelined in a planned manner. There are many wrong perceptions about Urdu in the minds of Indians which are based on wrong information.

*Perception:* Urdu is an Army language which originated in the Mughal era.

*Reality:* It originated from Khari Boli by adding Arabic and Persian words to it. Experts say that it originated much before the Mughal rule and is known by various names such as Hindi, Hindavi, Hindustani, Dehlavi, Gajari, Dakkani, Lahori, etc.

*Perception:* Urdu is the language of Muslims.

*Reality:* Those who laid its foundation were Hindus. 99 per cent verbs of Urdu are taken from other Indian languages especially Hindi. Many Urdu poets and writers are from the Hindu community.

*Perception:* Urdu had been the language of kings.

*Reality:* Although Persian was the court language in Mughal rule, Urdu was the language of the common people which had been spoken in villages and in the streets.<sup>3</sup>

Urdu is a language which has opened the door of broad mindedness, politeness and positive thinking. However, it is in the declining state and the reason is the hostile attitude of successive governments. In 2013, K. Rahman Khan exclaimed with contempt that there had been planned attempt to kill Urdu which had been the symbol of Indian culture. It is almost extinct in many states and has almost reached a state of homelessness. The example of Punjab is a case in point. Till 1887, the official work in Punjab was done in Urdu. Interestingly, the renowned Urdu poet Allama Iqbal was from Punjab's Sialkot. Now the state is struggling with Urdu knowing staff. When a person approaches government offices to obtain old land records, he is advised by officials to come with someone who could read Urdu.

## URDU AS OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

Due to communal politics in the name of language and hostile attitude of the successive governments, Urdu had been pushed almost to the margins till 1980. Muslims used their political strength and got some official recognition for Urdu. Today it is the first official language in J&K and second official language in UP, Bihar, Jharkhand, WB, AP and Delhi. If Urdu gets second language status, it has many benefits. It gets official recognition and government gazettes are published in it. Applications written in Urdu are accepted and replies are given. Urdu knowing people are appointed as translators, clerks and typists in government offices. Urdu teachers are appointed in schools and Urdu schools are established. Urdu newspapers get government advertisements. This creates interest about Urdu and promotes the language.

Urdu has been declared the second official language in Bihar since 16 August 1989. The purposes were: acceptance of representation and replies thereto; acceptance of documents by registration offices; publication of important rules, regulations, etc.; issue of orders and notifications of public interest; publication of district gazettes; and display of signboards. When the state was divided, Urdu became the second language in Jharkhand also.

The UP government declared Urdu as the second state language by passing the Official Language (Amendment) Act, 1989. UP Hindi Sahitya Sammelan challenged the order in Allahabad HC and lost in 1996. It again challenged in the Supreme Court. On 4 September 2014, the SCI dismissed the appeal and upheld Urdu as second language in UP.<sup>4</sup>

In May 2011, Mamata Banerjee announced to accord Urdu the status of second official language in the districts that had 10 per cent or more Urdu-speaking population. However, Muslims of WB are not happy with the decision as Urdu is not the second official language in whole state as promised by her in election manifesto. Second for 10 per cent population 2001 census was taken as basis by which only in 15 or 16 areas or municipalities Urdu has got the second language status. If Census of 2011 had been taken as basis 23 areas could have qualified for this.

Urdu is the second language in AP. When Telangana became a

new state, Asaduddin Owaisi demanded that Urdu be made first language in Telangana along with Telugu. In May 2015, Telangana state government announced to make Urdu as the first language of the state along with Telugu. Now the students in the state can choose Urdu as the first language (*Inquilab*, Mumbai, 21 May 2015).

Urdu has been granted the second language status in New Delhi. Number of Urdu schools and Urdu-speaking population is also high in Maharashtra, Karnataka, MP, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Rajasthan, etc. In these states Urdu can also be made the second official language along with regional language of the state. Though Urdu is one of 22 languages listed in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, it has been denied its right on national level. On 14 December 2011, Saifuddin Soz demanded in the Rajya Sabha that Urdu be given its due right by being granted second official language status. On 11 December 2012, Rajya Sabha member of SP, Chaudhary Manawwar Salim demanded to make it the second official language on the national level; a commission for Urdu and separate budget for its development.

#### DISCRIMINATION WITH URDU

After Independence and Partition of the subcontinent, Urdu suffered a lot in the communalized environment. It was even blamed for the Partition of India. Hostile attitude of the successive CMs in UP, starting from G.B. Pant and P.D. Tandon is well documented. Due to their effort, UP is a state where no Urdu medium school exists. Due to certain rules it is legally not possible to open Urdu medium schools in UP. Unfortunately, this attitude of hostility and discrimination is continuing even today.

The advantage of providing primary education in mother tongue is undisputed as it enables the child to understand and apply skills more easily. For this reason the three language formula was adopted in the 1960s. Article 350A of the Constitution asks every state to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups. Despite clear provision, nothing has been done

to provide primary education in Urdu to students who claim Urdu as their mother tongue. The Hindi-speaking states operate largely with Hindi, English and Sanskrit whereas the non-Hindi-speaking states with English and the regional language. The undue importance given to Sanskrit in many north Indian states has tended to sideline minority languages especially Urdu.

As per information collected under RTI in 2013, the MHA spent Rs. 25.21 lakh on newspapers and magazines. The ministry subscribed to 35 newspapers: 22 English, 10 Hindi, 2 Bengali and one Telugu. It also subscribed to 69 magazines: 45 English, 11 Hindi, 5 Tamil, 4 Malayalam, 2 Bengali and one each of Telugu and Kannada. Thus, Urdu newspapers and magazines have no place in the MHA.<sup>5</sup> Urdu magazines *Aaj Kal*, *Yojna* and *Rojgar Samachar* have been very popular in Urdu circles. But, according to a report, their numbers had been reduced over the years. In 2011, 1,700 copies of *Aaj Kal*, 1,000 of Urdu *Rojgar Samachar* and 500 copies of *Yojna* had been published per week. It had been alleged that it was a part of a conspiracy to close down these publications.<sup>6</sup> There are many municipal corporations and *nagarpalikas* in the country where Urdu-speaking population is more than 25 per cent of the total. Even then, meeting agendas and proceedings are not released in Urdu. In 2013, Parbhani and Malegaon Municipal Corporations decided to publish their proceedings in Urdu. In December 2012, when MIM councillors in Nanded Municipal Corporation demanded the copy of proceedings in Urdu, they were manhandled by Shiv Sena members.

On the premise that Urdu students are not available, post of Urdu professors/teachers have been abolished at many schools/colleges. In comparison to Hindi and other regional languages, Urdu is allotted very less amount of budget. In 2011, the annual budget of Maharashtra Urdu Academy was just Rs. 20 lakh.<sup>7</sup> On 29 May 2016, PMO's website was launched in 6 languages – Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Malayalam, Tamil and Telugu. Following that, when Mohammad Yasir Ansari, an Urdu lover, made an application suggesting to launch PMO website in Urdu also, his request was simply filed (<http://twocirlces.net>).



## THE NEET EPISODE

Prior to 2013, Maharashtra and many other states had been conducting entrance test for medical courses in regional languages including Urdu. On 3 December 2012, the Government of Maharashtra issued notification that it was mandatory to appear in National Eligibility-cum-Entrance Test (NEET) which would be conducted by the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) for admission to medical courses. Following that the CBSE made provisions that candidates from State Board of AP, Assam, Gujarat, Maharashtra, TN and WB under state quota could opt for question paper in Telugu, Assamese, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil and Bengali along with Hindi and English. The CBSE excluded Urdu language from the medium of language of question papers. Surprisingly, the Maharashtra government had recommended only Marathi for the above test and had excluded Urdu.

It angered thousands of Urdu-medium students. The students and activists moved from pillar to post but it did not bring any result. Finally, Ansari Mahin Fatima, a student from Beed district of Maharashtra filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court. In the petition she argued that the decision of CBSE to conduct NEET in English, Hindi and other six regional languages excluding Urdu was discriminatory and violative of Articles 14 and 21 of the Constitution. She said that there were more than 7,800 Urdu medium students and a number of junior colleges in which the medium of instruction was Urdu was as high as 227 in the state. She also argued that there was not a single Marathi-medium Science Junior College all over Maharashtra and there were only about 350 Marathi-medium students. On 2 May 2013, the SCI directed the CBSE to conduct the supplementary NEET-2013 in Urdu medium for the students of Maharashtra within 8 weeks from that day. That was a great victory for Urdu which came after a legal fight.<sup>8</sup>

## VACANT POST OF URDU TEACHERS

In states where Urdu has the second language status, the governments have not given genuine status. In these states many post of

Urdu teachers have been lying vacant but governments do nothing to fill them. Some examples are presented here. (1) *Bihar*: The Bihar government, in 2012, had planned to appoint a Urdu teacher each in 27,000 of the state's 69,500 primary schools. It also hoped to complete the appointment process by 2015. However, the process has not been completed so far.<sup>9</sup> (2) *New Delhi*: According to information received under RTI Act by SQR Ilyas, General Secretary of Welfare Party of India, in 2013, 29,444 total post of teachers were sanctioned in Delhi Government Directorate of Education – 5,096 posts for English, 4,606 for Hindi, 4,179 for Sanskrit, 262 posts for Urdu and 254 for Punjabi. This shows the undue importance given to Sanskrit in comparison to Urdu and Punjabi, both second language in Delhi. Of the total 262 posts sanctioned for Urdu only 70 were filled up, leaving 192 vacant. Thus 73 per cent posts of Urdu teachers were lying vacant.<sup>10</sup> As per another set of information received in 2013 by SQR Ilyas, 11 schools run by New Delhi Municipal Corporation (NDMC) for the gifted children did not have a single post either for Urdu or Punjabi teacher. Besides, the NDMC-run 56 different kinds of schools where 738 teaching posts were sanctioned. However, for Urdu only 64 posts were sanctioned of which 11 were lying vacant.<sup>11</sup> Due to very less posts sanctioned for Urdu and huge vacancy in them, 14,800 Muslim students across 100 Delhi government schools were forced to study Sanskrit.<sup>12</sup> (3) *Maharashtra*: In 2008, then MLA from Mumbai, Baba Siddiqui had pointed out before the then CM that there was one teacher for every 30 students in Marathi schools, while there was only one teacher for 50 students in Urdu schools. If Urdu teacher had been appointed as per scales of Marathi schools, it would have translated into jobs for 2,000-3,000 Urdu teachers. In 2013, 1,321 post of Urdu teachers had been lying vacant for several years. When meeting with concerned officials did not bring any result, members of Maharashtra Urdu Shikshan Sevak Kruti Samiti started *dharna* at Azad Maidan from 23 January 2013. Subsequently, they went to the Mumbai High Court which directed the state to complete the process and fill the posts till 15 May 2013. When the government did not comply, the members of the Samiti again had started agitation in October

2013. Besides, they had planned to file a contempt petition in High Court against the government. In 2013, there were 242 Urdu-medium schools in Brihan Mumbai Municipal Corporation (BMC) where posts of Urdu teachers had not been filled up. Besides, 96 posts of headmasters had been lying vacant due to negligent attitude of Municipal authorities. (4) *Gujarat*: In December 2014, 33 Urdu-medium municipal teachers had been declared surplus in Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation and they had been asked to teach in Tamil, Marathi and Gujarati.<sup>13</sup> Thus not filling up the post of Urdu teachers has become a trend in all states, due to which Urdu students are suffering.

#### NON-AVAILABILITY OF URDU TEXTBOOKS

Non-availability of Urdu medium textbooks is also a big hindrance in the growth of Urdu and performance of Urdu students. Due to governments' apathy, textbooks of Urdu are not printed and published on time. When Hindi and English medium books reach the market, these are given for translations into Urdu. The process takes months and years. By the time translation is complete, and the book is printed, the syllabus changes. This is the state of Urdu textbooks in all states. In 2013 in Delhi, 74 books out of a total of 80 books were not in the market. In 2013, after two weeks the academic session had started, textbooks of geography, history and economics in Urdu for Standard X were not available.<sup>14</sup>

In January 2013, the Maharashtra State Board of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education had not come out with Urdu medium textbooks for class XII science even though the books were available in Marathi and English. Over 20,000 students in 168 colleges across Maharashtra were affected due to that. Board authorities argued that getting the terminology of physics, chemistry and biology in Urdu was difficult.<sup>15</sup> Balbharti, Maharashtra State Bureau of Textbook Production and Curriculum Research, used to publish textbooks for Secondary and High Secondary students. But since 2010, it stopped publishing Urdu textbooks for class XI and XII. When SIO Secretary, Mohammad Ali submitted an application, he did not get a satisfactory reply. Then he filed a PIL in

2014 in Aurangabad High Court to get the books of all optional subjects printed in Urdu medium.

#### COMMITTEES/COMMISSIONS FOR URDU

The SCR discussed issues of Urdu in the chapter on Education. Besides highlighting the problems, it suggested the Karnataka and Bihar model in government schools for development of Urdu. The RMC has made some recommendation in para 16.2.10 (a, b, c & d) in Chapter 10 of RMCR. The Mahmoodur Rahman Committee of Maharastra suggested to include Urdu in the Official Language Act, restructuring of the Urdu Sahitya Academy and increase in annual budget. A Committee under Akhtarul Wasey was constituted in September 2012 for setting up of an Urdu Academy in Uttarakhand. The report submitted in December 2012 recommended among other things that Urdu Academy be under the Ministry of Cultural Affairs; its centre should be at Dehradun and a Rs. 20 crore budget for the Academy.<sup>16</sup> A sub-committee of the NMCME on the promotion of Urdu language and enhancement of compatibility, amongst minorities through knowledge of English was constituted under Akhtarul Wasey. It was also to address issues like availability of Urdu-speaking teachers and training them in minority populated areas, suggest measures for customization of Urdu language and for development of tools to make it compatible with web publishing/referencing and libraries, etc. It submitted its report in December 2013 which recommended: (1) Setting up of a monitoring committee to ensure implementation of programmes related to promotion of Urdu; (2) A database of the institutions that train Urdu teachers; (3) To reduce the minimum requirement from 15 to 5 students for KVs to offer Urdu as a course; (4) Introduction of Urdu as a subject in JNVs as well as KGBVs; and (5) To formulate laws to enable the states open Urdu schools especially in UP. All the 14 major recommendations of the Committee can be seen on the website of MHRD.<sup>17</sup>

In January 2015, the NCMEI constituted an HLC under the chairmanship of Brigadier Syed Ahmed Ali (Rtd.), Pro-Vice-Chancellor of AMU, to survey and collect data related to the status of

Urdu and its development and employment of Urdu-speaking people and its possibilities. The report of the committee is awaited.

#### NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR PROMOTION OF URDU LANGUAGE (NCPUL)

The NCPUL ([www.urducouncil.nic.in](http://www.urducouncil.nic.in)) is recognized as an autonomous organization of MHRD, devoted to promotion and mainstreaming of Urdu education in India. It has started five different courses, initiated many schemes, publications and e-Library. Some important works are Urdu Online Learning Courses, Urdu Digital Learning, Urdu Digital Library and Urdu Pedia. It has also started organizing Urdu festivals and Urdu Book fairs for its promotion. So far, it has organized 16 book fairs in different parts of India. Important courses started by the Council are:

1. Two-year Diploma in Functional Arabic: 304 centres in 165 districts in 23 states.
2. One-year Diploma Course in Urdu Language: 779 centres in 236 districts in 24 states.
3. One-year Certificate Course in Arabic: 341 centres in 198 districts in 23 states.
4. One-year Diploma in Computer Application Business Accounting & Multimedia DTP (CABA-MDTP): 454 centres in 221 districts of 25 states.<sup>18</sup>

#### MAULANA AZAD NATIONAL URDU UNIVERSITY

MANUU ([www.manuu.ac.in](http://www.manuu.ac.in)), located in Hyderabad, was established by an Act of the Parliament in January 1998, with an All India jurisdiction for the objectives which include: (1) To promote and develop Urdu language; (2) To impart education and training in vocational and technical subjects through medium of Urdu; (3) To provide wider access to people pursuing programmes of higher education and training in Urdu through Campus & Distance modes; and 4. To provide focus on Women education.

Besides 12 departments and 6 centres, it has a Urdu learning

and research institution. It is the only educational institute that imparts technical education in Urdu. It has established polytechnic and ITI colleges at Hyderabad, Bangalore and Darbhanga and model schools at Hyderabad and Darbhanga. It has four colleges of Teacher Education at Hyderabad, Bhopal, Darbhanga and Srinagar. At present MANUU's Directorate of Distance Education (DDE) has set up 9 Regional Centres, 5 Sub-Regional Centres that look after 161 Study Centres. The DDE, which has 1,57,000 students on roll, is offering 17 programmes through distance learning mode. In 2014, it introduced B Tech and M Tech courses in Urdu medium. It got special attention of the government and it has also realized its responsibility and has started suitable programmes for educational development of the community. It has started coaching programme for selection into Civil Services also.

#### GOVERNMENT SCHEMES/ANNOUNCEMENTS

On central level, Academics for Professional Development of Urdu Medium Teacher have been set up at AMU, JMI and MANUU and for which Rs. 4 crore for each of these universities was sanctioned by UGC during 11th FYP. The academics at these universities had trained 1,675, 3,061 and 356 teachers respectively. NCPUL is being strengthened and bigger mandate is being given to it. CABA-MDTP scheme has transformed the Urdu-speaking population into employable technical workforce and more than 50 per cent diploma holders are already employed. 50,000 jobs are expected for diploma holders under the National Population Register Project. To create employment and preserve traditional calligraphy, NCPUL has started Calligraphy and Graphic Design Course at 35 locations. New course on mass media, script writing and dialogue writing were being launched to enhance employment opportunities. Subsidy is provided to Urdu newspapers to avail UNI Urdu News Services.<sup>19</sup> As per the new criteria, an Urdu teacher can be appointed in a class where 15 or more students opt for it and for this the central government would provide financial assistance.<sup>20</sup>

In 2014, Maharashtra announced to set up a chair in the name of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in Mumbai University that would

be used for the study of Urdu.<sup>21</sup> In October 2013, the government gave its nod to local self bodies to open Urdu medium schools in areas with a minimum of 200 Urdu-speaking population provided at least 30 students from such pockets are willing to study in each school.<sup>22</sup> In July 2012, Maharashtra announced that the government would construct 'Urdu Ghar' in every city of the state and allot Rs. 1 crore annual fund for Maharashtra Urdu Academy.<sup>23</sup> In 2014, then Minority Minister Arif (Naseem) Khan laid the foundation stone of the first 'Urdu Ghar' at Nanded. To ensure students of minority community join mainstream education and undertake professional courses, former minority minister Eknath Khadse announced government's plan to introduce Urdu as an optional language in Marathi-medium schools.<sup>24</sup>

In October 2012, UP announced to start centres in all districts where not only Urdu be taught but it would be linked with vocational and professional courses. The move was aimed to link Urdu with employment.<sup>25</sup> It also earmarked and sanctioned fund for the construction of Khawaja Moinuddin Chisti Urdu Arabi Farari University at Lucknow. The government also announced to introduce Urdu as an optional subject in Public Civil Services (Judicial) examination through which Judges are appointed.<sup>26</sup>

In November 2015, Chandrababu Naidu laid the foundation stone of a Urdu University in Kurnool which would come up on 125 acres of land at an estimated cost of 20 crore. Responding to Akbaruddin Owaisi, finance minister of Telangana, E. Rajendra announced in the Assembly that the examination for the government employment would also be organized in Urdu.<sup>27</sup>

## NEW DEVELOPMENTS

Some welcome developments have taken place regarding promotion of Urdu. Tata Consultancy Services (TCS) has developed a Urdu teaching software for adult education under its Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). The software would be available free of cost and could teach Urdu in just 40 hours. Kapil Sibal as HRD minister, had announced that India would have its own Wikipedia in Urdu. It was decided that all works related to Literature, Film, Art and Education in Urdu would be uploaded on it which would

be developed under NCPUL. The aim of the project was to provide authentic and comprehensive information in Urdu.<sup>28</sup> In April 2013, Kapil Sibal had decided to set up a committee of experts to develop a technology to link Urdu with the Google search engine.<sup>29</sup> Urdu language fonts and keyboard drivers for different media were launched on 12 July 2013.

The first website of Urdu *shayari* was launched in January 2013. Prepared by Sanjeev Saraf, the website ([www.rekhta.org](http://www.rekhta.org)) had more than 3,000 *ghazals* written by 250 renowned Urdu poets. The First Urdu Law Dictionary translated by Supreme Court advocate Muhammad Irshad Hanif was released on 15 September 2013 in Mumbai. The dictionary titled, *Kanoon Lugat* contains 52,000 legal terms is billed to be the first of its kind in India. Hanif has also translated the Indian Penal Code and the Indian Evidence Act in Urdu.<sup>30</sup> To reach out and create a platform for engagement between the USA and Urdu-speaking Muslims in India, the US embassy in India launched its Urdu website on 12 November 2014. Among other things the website will have details of visa process and speeches and statements by US leaders pertaining to India.

### SOME SUGGESTIONS

Experts say that Urdu should be made part of the mainstream education for its promotion and development. The government should establish Urdu medium primary schools in areas where population of Urdu speakers, in a single village, ward or urban area is more than 15 per cent. In KVs and JNVs, where total number of students opting for Urdu is more than 10, it should be taught and Urdu teachers be appointed. Genuine rights should be given to it in states where it has been granted second language status. Legal hurdles in establishing Urdu medium schools in UP could be removed through legislation. Vacancy of Urdu teachers should be filled up as soon as possible and Urdu textbooks be printed and published on time. The government can earmark more funds for Urdu and open libraries in Muslim concentration areas.

Urdu was the language of the common masses and it cannot be linked with a particular religion or sect. Under communal agenda, it is linked only with Muslims. It is the duty of all Muslims to



fight with this mentality. The Constitution has given necessary protection to Urdu but we have failed to use these rights to demand protection to our mother tongue. We have not organized any protest or agitation in a democratic way to demand protection to Urdu. There should be a campaign demanding primary education in Urdu for Muslims. The notion that *mushairas* and *ghazal* recitations would help promote Urdu language is false and baseless. *Mushairas* have been monopolized by a few Urdu poets and these are organized for self-promotion and to take political benefits. Perhaps if equal amount is spent on Urdu-medium primary schools, creation of libraries and Urdu books, then it would be a great service for Urdu. Community members should come forward to open Urdu-medium primary schools.

A language remains alive with the love of its speakers and users. To make it alive, we can revive Urdu in our homes by teaching it to our children. Individuals can help by subscribing at least one newspaper, one digest and one magazine of Urdu for the family. Convent or mainstream schools run by the community can introduce Urdu as an optional subject. On individual level also some effort can be made to teach and popularize Urdu. Qamar Hayat, a retired Urdu teacher from the Nagpur Municipal Urdu School, has been running free Urdu teaching classes at Nagpur since 1979. His most of the students come from non-Muslim communities. During his class, he gives many aspects about Urdu. Central as well as many state governments have initiated good schemes for promotion of Urdu language. Community activist can seek details of these schemes under RTI and help in its promotion.

Disappearance of any language is an irreversible loss to any culture. Therefore, we should make honest efforts to promote and preserve this language.

## NOTES

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## CHAPTER 8

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### *Madrasas*

Please, forgive me, I have been writing against *madrasas* all this while, but I had never been to a *madrasa* before. I've now seen for myself the contribution that you are making, with your meager resources, for promoting education in this area.

[A Hindu journalist who made a surprise visit along with Maulana Asrar ul-Haq Qasmi, to a *madrasa* located in the Barmer, Rajasthan. The views were expressed while addressing *madrasa* students. When he stood on the podium to speak, his hands were folded and tears were streaming down his face.<sup>1</sup>]

## INTRODUCTION

*Madrasa*, an Arabic word, literally means place of *dars*, i.e. teaching. In Islamic countries even institutions of higher learning are known as *madrasa*. Its origin can be traced right from the time of the Prophet as he established the first such *madrasa* in his mosque where he would teach tenets of Islam and explain the contents of revelation, which he received. Early Islamic thoughts placed too much emphasis on education and hence Islamic centres of learning, i.e. madrasas were established in many parts of Islamic world. In those days, there was no division of knowledge as secular and religious. Both types of knowledge were valued and taught. Great scholars like Avicenna, mathematicians like Omar Khayyam, philosophers like Al-Kindi and Al-Farabi and the father of modern sociology, Ibn Khaldun, all studied in *madrasas*.

When Islam entered into India, multitudes converted to Islam and hence right from the earliest time there was need for *madrasa* institutions to teach religion and also to create *ulama* who in turn could teach and help others to perform prayers. Madrasa education got the patronage of Muslim dynasties. Rational sciences

(*ma'qulat*) were taught by Fatehullah Shirazi during Akbar's tenure. These rational sciences include Astronomy, Geography, Physics and Philosophy. Aurangzeb granted Mulla Nizamuddin a mansion in Lucknow, known as Firangi Mahal where he established a *madrasa*. It was here that Mulla Nizamuddin developed a *madrasa* syllabus which is known as *Darse-e-Nizami*. The syllabus, quite balanced in those days, is still taught in most of the Indian *madrasas*. It is interesting to note that *madrasas* were open to students of other communities as well. Raja Rammohun Roy studied in Madrasa Aliyah, now a university in WB, and was as much a scholar of Persian and Arabic as that of Sanskrit and Hindu religion.<sup>2</sup>

*Madrasas* in India can be divided into three categories. Preliminary *madrasas* i.e. *maktabs* impart basic religious teachings. Middle level *madrasas* provide education on Arabic language, Quran, commentary on Quran, *Hadith*, etc. Higher level *madrasas* impart education on Arabic literature, Islamic theology, Philosophy and Greek sciences. In higher level *madrasas*, where *Dars-e-Nizami* syllabus is followed, the students memorize the Quran and study *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), *Hadith* (traditions of the Prophet), *Tafasir* (exegesis of the Quran) and *Falsafah* (Islamic philosophy).

In India, *madrasa* education is preferred by those Muslims who lack economic resources and cannot afford the cost of mainstream education. *Madrasas* are providing religious as well as secular education to Muslims in those areas where the state has failed to establish the school of mainstream education.

## STATISTICS ABOUT MADRASAS

There is no exact estimate about the number of *madrasas*, recognized and unrecognized, and the number of students attending them. It is often believed that a large percentage of Muslim children in school-going age-group study there.

### THE SACHAR COMMITTEE REPORT

According to the estimate of the Seventh All India School Survey of NCERT (2002), the number of students attending *madrasas*

on all India level was 10,35,384 (5,59,825 boys and 4,75,559 girls) which was less than 3 per cent of the Muslim children enrolled in schools. NCAER and NCERT survey figures indicated that 4.5 and 3.0 per cent of all Muslim students of the school-going age group were enrolled in *madrasas*. In the north, as per NCAER estimate, the proportion was the highest at 7 per cent which indicated that the states had failed to open mainstream schools in Muslim majority areas.

#### REPORT OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF NMCME

It was published in April 2013, according to which total number of Muslim children enrolled in *madrasas* was 24.75 lakh which was 9.7 per cent of the total Muslim children enrolled. See Table 8.1.

The proportion of Muslim children attending *madrasas* was very low in 430 districts. The number of districts where more than 25 per cent of Muslim children enrolled in *madrasas* was 68 in 2011-12. The report expressed the need to study in detail the reason for higher preference of *madrasas* in those districts.

#### STUDY OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF NT/DNT MUSLIMS IN MAHARASHTRA

As per the study conducted in 2013 by Razia Patel, *madrasas* were not preferred by general Muslims in Maharashtra. Eighty-five per cent of the Muslims belonging to Nomadic Tribes/De-notified

TABLE 8.1: ENROLMENT IN MADRASAS, 2011-12

Type of <i>Madrasas</i>	No. of <i>Madrasas</i>	Enrolment		
		Boys	Girls	Total
Recognized	5,797	9,51,267	10,34,725	19,85,992
Unrecognized	2,392	2,59,616	2,29,942	4,89,558
Total	8,189	12,10,883	12,64,667	24,75,550

Source: Prepared from DISE by NUEPA.

Tribes category were studying in Marathi medium schools and only 8 to 10 per cent in *madrasas*. It noted that the government was spending money on modernization of *madrasas* but the common Muslim wanted education in schools and recommended that the government should spend money on mainstream school education.<sup>3</sup>

#### JHINGRAN'S STUDY

Ms. Jhingran has done a quite objective and systematic study of *madrasas* in India. As per her study, 15 to 30 per cent Muslim children go first to *maktabs* and then to *madrasas*, if only for a few years. This estimate appears to be on the higher side though at *maktab* level it may be so but not at higher level.<sup>4</sup> It also indicates that the government has failed to establish mainstream schools in villages generally and in Muslim areas particularly.

These studies conclude that 5 to 10 per cent of the Muslim children of school-going age are enrolled in *madrasas*. Majority of them first go to *maktabs* to get religious education in morning time and then to schools for mainstream education. Proportion of Muslim children going to *madrasas* is high in areas where government schools do not exist or are located at a long distance.

Many of the *madrasas* are fake and they run only on official records. Having found 118 such fake *madrasas*, the UP government has made mandatory for *madrasas* to put online their registration and posting details. In the wake of the Burdman blast, the WB government ordered an audit survey of all *madrasas* in the state. The aim of the survey was to get a clear picture about *kharezi* (unrecognized) *madrasas*, including the number of students being taught, kind of education and their source of income.

#### PERCEPTION ABOUT MADRASAS

‘The Indian media has published colorful stories implying that *madrasas* are recruiting centres for Islamic terrorism and that many are funded by Pakistan’s ISI.’ ‘The accounts are mostly anecdotal, however, and there has been little or no hard evidence linking Indian *madrasas* to terrorist recruitment.’

This was from a text from US diplomatic cables that were sent

to the US State Department in December 2005 from India by David Mulford. These were put in public domain by Wikileaks.<sup>5</sup>

A section of the Indian media which always takes a biased view against Muslims, has created a general perception that a large proportion of Muslim children study in *madrasas* only to get religious education and ensure continuation of Islamic culture and social life. It is also often believed that Muslim parents have preference for religious education leading to dependence on *madrasas*. It is also argued that *madrasa* education encourages religious fundamentalism and creates a sense of alienation from the mainstream.

These perceptions have been created in the absence of statistical data and supporting evidence. As per the SCR, only 3 to 4 per cent Muslim children of school-going age attend *madrasas*. As per the report of the standing committee of NMCME, this proportion is 9 to 10 per cent. As per the SCR, in WB where Muslims constituted 25.2 per cent of the population, the number of *madrasa* student was 3.41 lakh which was only about 4 per cent of the 7-19 age group children. It has also been argued, time and again, that Muslim parents want to send their children to mainstream schools and have no preference for *madrasa* education. They send their children to *madrasas* in the areas where the state has failed to establish mainstream schools. Jhingran's study shows that *madrasa* is an important institution of education for poorer rural and to some extent urban Muslims. She also argues that paucity of modern schools in Muslim majority areas, lack of separate girls schools and female teachers in common schools, poor quality of government schools, high cost of modern education, poor quality of education in government schools, Hindu bias in the school textbooks and biased and Hindu environment in schools are the main reasons for preference for *madrasa* education.<sup>6</sup> A vast majority of Muslims are poor and illiterate. They can't afford, even if they want, to send their children to institutions of secular education.

As regards contents of *madrasa* education, most of *madrasas* in India follow *Dars-e-Nizami* syllabus which was quite balanced and flexible in the eighteenth century. It includes study of the Quran, the *Hadith*, *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), Islamic philosophy, general science, astronomy and general mathematics. *Madrasa* education

does not encourage religious fundamentalism and say nothing ill about other religions or their followers. It also does not create a sense of alienation from the mainstream.

A section of Indian media and communalized state agencies accuse *madrasas* as 'hub of terrorism', 'dens of terror' or 'breeding ground of terrorist activities'. Even responsible ministers from NDA-I as well as NDA-II government have made such statements. There are uninformed prejudices even among scholars. But it is a fact that *madrasas* are the centre of educations and reach out to the poorest of the poor in the community. Most of these views about *madrasas* are expressed by those who hardly have first hand knowledge of the *madrasa* system or what is taught. They just presume that since these are Islamic institutions they must be teaching about *jihad* and war. They run on meagre resources. Still their funding is always doubted by the agencies.

The then home minister, L.K. Advani took the lead in attack on *madrasas* and termed them as breeding ground of extremism and dens of Pakistani espionage and training ground of terrorists. He had been talking about a white paper on *madrasas*. But when he was told by the officials and agencies that the accusations against *madrasas* were unfounded he stopped talking about it.<sup>7</sup> Two eminent scholars Saral Jhingran and Yoginder Sikand, in their studies have demolished many myths about *madrasas*. They point out that Indian *madrasas* have no connection with Islamic militancy. Even Kiran Rijju, the state home minister in the NDA-II government, on 17 December 2014, acknowledged that it had no information about *madrasas* in the country being involved in training of terrorists. He says, 'The government gets information about various institutions, including *madrasas* from open sources as well with security/intelligence agencies. There is no information with the Government that *madrasas* in general are involved in training of terrorists.'<sup>8</sup>

In spite of these facts, Rajasthan government, in April 2016, decided to collect information about *madrasas* by involving police and minority departments. The state has 3,842 registered and around 1,000 unregistered *madrasas*. Police has already prepared a 14-point format to collect the information. The motive of the survey is to ascertain if *madrasas* are involved in some secret activities (*Inquilab*, 12 April 2016).



If a surprise police search is conducted at most of the *madrasas* in India, then the police would find students belonging to poor families, Islamic books, their meagre resources and articles of daily needs. Still myths have been created and wrong accusations are put on *madrasas*. These are deliberately done under political conspiracy to defame *madrasas*. But the fact remains that the schools run by fundamentalist Hindutva elements communalize and radicalize the tender minds. They fill these young minds with hatred for members of other religious communities.

#### GOVERNMENT SCHEMES/ANNOUNCEMENTS

On central level, midday meal scheme has been extended to cover all children studying in *madrasas* and *maktabs*. For the purpose of employment and entry to higher levels of education, the central government has issued instruction in respect of equivalence of certificates/qualifications of the Madrasa Boards. Notification was issued on 23 February 2010. National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS) has a minority cell which grants accreditation on relaxed norms to *madrasas*, *maktabs* and *Dar-ul-uloom* which has helped to link *madrasas* with the mainstream education. The NCMEI and NIOS have jointly prepared a scheme under which the students of *madrasas* studying from class VIII to XII would get an opportunity of open schooling beside the *madrasa* education. For this NIOS has prepared an easy syllabus for *madrasa* students. Financial assistance was to be provided to meet all expenses up to 100 per cent for each student who study through NIOS at Secondary and Senior Secondary levels. *Madrasas* which are registered or have got minority status can also opt for vocational courses offered by NIOS after fulfilling norms.

The UPA-I government drafted the Central Madrasa Board Bill, 2009 but did not introduce it at the last moment due to opposition from the Muslim community. The CMB seeks to coordinate, regulate and control *madrasa* education in India. Muslims raise the question why the government is so anxious to bring all *madrasas* under a centralized body although no such Central Board exists for the Sanskrit Paathshalas whose number far exceeds than that

of *madrasas*. They also raise the question that when 96 per cent Muslim children receive mainstream education then why the government is not planning for their employment. *Madrasas* are ready for modernization but they don't want to lose their autonomy as it is the independent *madrasa* which produce *ulama* of repute.<sup>9</sup> Union Budget of 2015-16 announced to launch 'Nai Manzil' scheme which is a course to bridge the academic and skill development gaps of the *madrasa* pass-outs with mainstream students.

In 2011, Bihar had decided to provide subsidy to 2,460 unrecognized *madrasas* and recognition in a phased manner to make them eligible for grants. To raise the level of education, UP government, in May 2015, decided to take up 99 *madrasas* on government grant. Under the scheme it would pay the salary of a principal, 12 teachers, one clerk and one peon. Initially it shortlisted 192 *madrasas* (*Inquilab*, 20 May 2015). Mamata Bannerjee assured to give recognition to at least 10,000 unaided *madrasas*. Till June 2014, only 237 of them had been recognized. In June 2013, Maharashtra had decided to extend financial support to the tune of Rs. 4 lakh for upgradation of infrastructure of 3,500 *madrasas*. The project was expected to cost Rs. 150 crore.<sup>10</sup> However, in September 2013, the state approved only Rs. 10 crore for this purpose.<sup>11</sup> The *ulama* decided not to accept government assistance for *madrasas* and said that accepting government fund for religious education was against the set principles in Islam. They drew the attention of the state government towards false cases of terrorism against youths and non-implementation of the MRC Report.<sup>12</sup> In June 2015, the present Maharashtra government announced to make it obligatory for *madrasas* to teach four regular subjects: english, mathematics, science and social science, if they wanted government aid. There are 1890 registered *madrasas* in the state and 537 of them had given such consent (<http://twocircles.net/2015jun13/1434187949.html>).

#### SCHEME TO PROVIDE QUALITY EDUCATION IN *MADRASAS*

SPQEM, a scheme run by MHRD, seeks to bring about qualitative improvement in *madrasas* to enable Muslim children attain

standards of the national education in modern subjects. The scheme was introduced in 2008-9 by Arjun Singh that intends: (1) To encourage *madrasas/maktabas* to introduce Science, Hindi, English, Mathematics and Social Studies in their curriculum so that academic proficiency is attained; (2) To provide education comparable to the National Education System for Secondary and Senior Secondary levels; (3) To provide opportunities for vocational training to enter job market and encourage entrepreneurship; (4) To strengthen State Madrasa Boards by enabling them to monitor *madrasa* modernization programmes; and (5) To provide in-service training of teachers appointed under the scheme.

#### *Component and Financial Assistance*

For teaching science, maths, languages and computer application each full-time graduate teacher will be paid a salary for 12 months of Rs. 6,000 p.m. and those who are PG/B.Ed Rs. 12,000 p.m. For strengthening libraries/book banks one time assistance up to Rs. 50,000 followed by an annual grant of Rs. 5,000 for maintenance. Rs. 15,000 for science and maths kits. Rs. 1,00,000 for setting up of science/computer labs and Rs. 5,000 annually for maintenance. To strengthen State Madrasa Boards annual assistance of Rs. 5 lakh to monitor the SPQEM, recruitment of teachers and computerization of office. Rs. 325 crore was proposed in the 11th FYP and was expected that 4,500-6,000 *madrasas*, 13,500 to 18,000 teachers and 7 lakh students would get benefit from this.

#### *Budget Sanctioned and Performance of SPQEM*

*Madrasas* which are in existence at least for three years and registered under the central or state government Acts or Madrasa Boards or with Wakf Boards or NIOS shall be eligible for assistance. See Table 8.2.

In 2014-15 and 2015-16, Rs. 108 and 294 crore were sanctioned respectively. The Central Government has spent over Rs. 1,000 crore over 7 years on this scheme (TCN: 8.8.2016). Performance

TABLE 8.2: PERFORMANCE OF THE SPQEM

(Amount in crore)

Year	Amount Sanctioned	Madrasas Benefited	Teachers Benefited	State Benefited
2009-10	42.52	1,979	4713	5
2010-11	DNA	5,045	DNA	12
2011-12	139.53	5,934	14,412	9
2012-13	175.0*	1,348	DNA	4
2013-14	182.73	14,859	35,376	DNA

Source: The PSEC.

Notes: \*Rs. 31.57 crore has been released; DNA: Data not available.

of the SPQEM has not been constant and number of states getting benefit varies considerably. It shows that performance of the scheme has been poor. Experts say that this is a failed scheme which is on the verge of dying. Low allocation, lackluster attitude of the Central government, indifferent attitude of the States and absence of awareness among madrasa managers are the main reason for failure of the scheme.<sup>13</sup> It also shows that the State Governments are not serious in implementing the scheme as they do not prepare the proposals and do not visit the *madrasas*.

## COMMUNITY INITIATIVE

On community level few initiatives have been taken to upgrade the level of education, modernize them and improve the employment conditions of *madrasa* pass outs. The SIO of Karnataka zone has started an innovative programme to give awards to *madrasas* for their good status, maintaining quality, diversity and creativity in education with holistic approaches. For this an expert team surveys the *madrasas* and award marks for availability of infrastructure, maintaining a balance of religious and secular education, availability of library and computer labs, good quality teaching and non-teaching staff and innovative activities for education. Markazul Ma'arif Education & Research Centre (MMERC), an NGO established by Maulana Badruddin Ajmal, prepares the graduates of *madrasas*

with good English and communication skills so that they can meet modern needs and play a more meaningful role in society. MMERC conducts a two-year intensive Diploma in English Language and Literature (DELL) for *madrasa* students at par with English medium schools and colleges. So far it has produced nearly 400 meritorious graduates who are capable of writing articles, delivering lectures on Islam and comparative religion, and teaching English and Arabic through English medium. In March 2015, it held its first-all-India inter DELL national English elocution competition for *ulama* in Mumbai. As many as 21 such students participated in it. After listening to the speeches, Teesta Setalvad said, 'Today I felt that *ulama* are the true messengers of Islam'.<sup>14</sup>

Maulana Mohammad Inam Qasmi Nadvi runs an Institute of Higher Studies (IHS), which imparts training to *madrasa* graduates in contemporary subjects. Jorhat Central Club in Assam has started 'Bachelor Preparatory Programme' for *madrasa* students which help them to gain admission in different courses of Bachelors Degree in IGNOU. The AMU has introduced one-year Bridge Course for *madrasa* pass-outs which makes them at par with any Higher Secondary pass out or even better. It enables the students to join most of the courses at UG level. Its syllabus includes English, Information Technology, Personality Development and courses on contemporary Islam. The Bihar Anjuman ([www.biharanjuman.org](http://www.biharanjuman.org)) is going to start a skill development programme of plumbing and electrician training for 84 students that includes Fauqania passed students of *madrasas* who are unemployed.

#### INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVES

Maulana Manzur Ahmad Misbahi runs Madrassatul Banat in Guwahati in Assam. This *madrasa* is exclusively for girls and teaches Science, Mathematics, Computer, and Assamese along with traditional Islamic subjects. Besides, it has sewing machine classes also. The aim of the *madrasa* is to prepare students to face day-to-day life besides having the traditional Islamic lessons. V.K. Tripathi, a professor of physics at IIT Delhi, has devised a formula for teaching mathematics and science to *madrasa* students.

## SUCCESS STORIES

*Madrasa* students are as talented as the students of mainstream schools. If they are properly taught and guided, they can crack any competitive examination. Most of the MMERC students have got placement in foreign countries and have been working there as teachers, interpreters, translators and speakers. Shahid Ansari Nadvi and Dr. Waseemur Rahman Qasmi, both *madrasa* graduates, have been selected in Civil Services. Hammad Zafar, a *madrasa* graduate from Jamia Salafiyah of Banaras cleared the CS Examination in 2012. Seven students of Madrasa Tajweedul Quran of Mumbai who have done *hifz* (memorizing the whole Quran) passed the SSC examination in 2014 with high marks.<sup>15</sup> *Madrasa* graduates have cracked other prestigious competitive exams too and qualified for government and private sector jobs.

## MODERNIZATION OF MADRASAS

*Madrasa* modernization has been a topic of hot discussion since colonial regime and particularly after 9/11 attack on America. It has been debated and discussed at various forums of intellectuals. Dars-e-Nizami has now become old. Allama Shibli Nomani, a leading scholar had tried a lot to convince *ulamas* about it, but he could not succeed. *Madrasa* graduates, leading scholars and *ulama* are of the view that the syllabus is irrelevant in many ways and it should be changed. As a matter of fact, *madrasas* in India have been undergoing vigorous reforms in the recent decades to enable their graduates to keep pace with the fast changing world and meet the requirements of the community at all stages. Not to speak of small *madrasas*, the well-known and big *madrasas* too have started this change. Darul Uloom, Deoband teaches all modern subjects including the Constitution of India, philosophy and computer application besides religious education. Nadwat-ul-Uloom, Lucknow emphasizes on English language and literature which is the main feature of this academy. Madrassatul Islah teaches all modern subjects up to the graduation level. Jamiat-ul-Hidya teaches Business management, commerce and agriculture in its curriculum besides

many modern subjects. Jamia Mohammadia Mansura, Malegaon produces medical practitioners as medical studies is one of the distinguishing features of the *madrassa*.<sup>16</sup>

However, its pace is a bit slow, but the process as such cannot be denied. The GoI has also taken a few initiatives to modernize the syllabus and link it with employment. *Ulama* and managers of *madrassas* are seriously considering to go for modernization. By modernizing their syllabus, they want to fight the charges of stagnation and status quoism levelled against them. One such conference of Raabta-e-Madaris Islamia was organized on 24 March 2015 at Darul-Uloom, Deoband which was attended by nearly 3,500 managers and *ulamas* from across India. They deliberated on the issue and decided to modernize the curriculum according to the present need. Once Wajahat Habibullah said that the community should stop looking at such reforms with suspicion and introduce English in their curriculum. But the ground reality is that *ulamas* do look at these reforms with suspicion and they have apprehensions that in the name of modernization government is trying to deprive them of their independence and autonomy.

Flexibility is the sign of good intellect which one should know to live in the changed times. Modernized *madrassas* can produce scholars, that what Islam precisely wants. *Ulamas* cannot guide Muslim society without basic knowledge of a range of contemporary disciplines. Also, they can not guide the community without knowing the current affairs and their political implications. One needs to know the direction of the air to adjust the wings of the ship. Linking *madrassas* with modern education or improving employment condition are smaller aims. The bigger aim of modernization is to ensure the very existence of *madrassas* in India.

#### SOME SUGGESTIONS

The government should constitute a non-governmental *madrassa* regulatory body consisting of all schools of thought with the mandate to regulate the *madrassa* education without disturbing their autonomy. A separate committee should be formed to study the infrastructure requirement of *madrassas*. *Madrassa* teachers must be

paid salary at par with the teachers of mainstream schools. The government should make compulsory the teaching of English and regional languages along with other subjects like mathematics, science, social science, computers, etc., in *madrasas*. The government should provide equivalence to *madrasa* degrees with degrees of mainstream education for the purpose of getting government employment. While initiating modernization of *madrasas*, the government should take into confidence the *ulamas* and scholars. Taking into consideration the percentage of children of school-going age attending *madrasas*, the government should shift its focus from *madrasas* towards providing mainstream education to children of the Muslim community.

*Madrasa* graduates should be ready to face future challenges. An Islamic scholar with knowledge of English and other modern subjects can interpret Islam in a better way. *Ulamas*/scholars and community members should note the benefit of modernization of *madrasas* and start this process without wasting any time. It will not only improve employability of *madrasa* pass outs but give them extra confidence to face the world. Inter-*madrasa* sports meet must be encouraged. Work of MMERC is really commendable which may be applied at other places too. NGOs/other organizations can organize one or two years' refresher courses for the students coming out of *madrasas*.

Well to do Muslims should donate to *madrasas* for infrastructure development and modernization. *Madrasa* students who learn the Quran by heart are very intelligent. They should learn modern subjects and appear at competitive examinations. *Ulamas*/managers of the *madrasas* may take some initiatives, on individual level, to introduce personality development courses and encourage students to face competitive examinations.

## NOTES

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## Economic and Employment Condition

### INTRODUCTION

Employment provides an individual and household with a source of income with which he can fulfil his basic needs, purchase goods and services and invest in development of human capital. It generates a feeling of self-worth in the economic activity and generates respect for the individual in society. It reduces poverty and inequality. Enhanced earning through employment allows an individual to invest in government's major projects which ultimately increases the productivity of the nation. It also contributes to social security and stability in the country. India has a commitment to provide for its citizens social, economic and political justice and equality of status and opportunities.

In spite of safeguards mentioned in Articles 16, 38, 41, 42 and 43 of the Constitution, Muslims are under-represented in all spheres of economic activity even after 70 years of Independence. As per the SCR, Muslims are mostly employed in small businesses and in unorganized sector of the economy which rarely enjoys protection of any kind. They are mostly employed in self-owned home-based economic activity and in traditional occupations such as silk and sericulture, handlooms, leather industry, etc. These areas are facing tough challenges from economic liberalization and globalizations. Muslims are way behind in upgradation of technology and installation of latest machinery and due to which they are losing ground even in traditional sectors.

## OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Occupational status of Muslims along with other SRCs can be discussed with respect to Worker Population Ratios/Rates; distribution of Workers by Activity Status, Occupational Status and Industry Groups and Unemployment Rates.

## WORKER POPULATION RATIOS/RATES (WPR)

WPR is defined as the percentage of persons working to the population in that specific age group. WPRs give an idea of the extent of participation in economic activity by a specific population. It is calculated for the population in the age group of 15-64 years. See Table 9.1.

WPR of Muslim males in rural areas is close to average on national level, i.e. 80 per cent. WPRs of Urban Muslim males in both categories are higher than the national average which indicates higher participation in economic activity especially in self-employment and home-based industries. It is normally high among the vulnerable sections of populations like SCs, STs and Muslims. These sections suffer a huge backwardness in education. This also indicates that higher WPR of a community does not necessarily reflect its better economic condition. Due to socio-cultural constraints to women's work, WPRs of Muslim women in rural as well as in urban areas are much less than that of other SRCs. This is even lower than the women of upper caste Hindu (UCH) households.

TABLE 9.1: WPR BY SRCs, NSSO 68TH ROUND (2011-12),  
15-64 YEARS OF AGE

SRCs/ Area-Gender	Hindus				Muslims		OR	All
	SC	ST	OBC	UC	OBC	Others		
Rural Male	80.7	85.0	80.0	76.8	78.9	81.8	77.4	80.0
Rural Female	37.8	53.7	36.3	27.6	21.0	24.9	38.7	35.2
Urban Male	75.6	75.5	75.3	71.2	78.6	76.0	71.3	74.1
Urban Female	23.6	26.9	21.9	16.3	14.7	14.9	23.9	19.5

Source: PSEC Report, 2014.

Notes: UC: Upper Caste; OR: Other Religions.

## DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY ACTIVITY STATUS

An overwhelming majority of Muslim workers fall in OW & UW category in both areas. In regular work, where wages are insured and there are social benefits, Muslims are less represented. Overall their condition is better than SCs and STs, comparable to Hindu-OBCs but worse than UCH and people of other religions. See Table 9.2.

## DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

Since majority of population live in rural areas, distribution of workers in each SRC by Occupational Group is analysed with respect to rural areas. Muslims are adversely represented in professionals, clerks and skilled occupation categories. Their presence is high in sales work, machine operation and craft related work. Distribution of workers on the basis of other criteria can be seen from the PSEC report (2014). See Table 9.3

TABLE 9.2: DISTRIBUTION OF MALE WORKERS BY ACTIVITY STATUS, NSSO 68TH ROUND (2011-12)

(All workers 15-64 years)

Activity Status	Hindus				Muslims		ORs	Total
	SC	ST	OBC	UC	OBC	General		
RURAL								
OW & UW	36.3	29.6	45.0	51.5	49.2	44.1	40.5	42.2
Employer	13.9	9.8	18.3	19.5	12.4	14.3	14.9	15.8
Casual Worker	44.3	52.6	28.2	16.1	30.0	34.9	31.5	33.0
Regular Worker	5.5	8.0	8.5	12.9	8.4	6.8	13.1	9.1
URBAN								
OW & UW	26.4	28.9	36.3	37.5	45.6	42.1	36.0	36.5
Employer	4.5	4.6	8.5	7.9	15.1	10.4	9.0	8.3
Casual Worker	25.8	25.8	16.9	6.3	16.9	15.8	14.1	14.5
Regular Worker	43.3	40.7	38.4	48.3	22.4	31.7	40.9	40.7

Source: PSEC Report.

Note: OW & UW: Own Account & Unpaid Worker.

TABLE 9.3: DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY OCCUPATION GROUPS, 2011-12

*(All workers aged 15-64 years; Rural Areas)*

Status	Hindus				Muslims			OR	Total
	SC	ST	OBC	Other	All	OBC	Other	All	
Legislators, senior officials and managers	1.9	2.2	3.4	5.4	3.3	6.4	4.1	5.2	3.5
Professionals	0.6	1.2	1.3	3.6	1.6	1.6	2	1.8	1.7
Associate professionals	1.1	1.3	1.5	3.7	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.8
Clerks	0.3	0.6	0.7	1.6	0.8	0.4	0.7	0.5	0.8
Service, shop & market sales	2.1	3.2	4.9	6.5	4.5	6.1	7.6	6.9	4.7
Skilled agricultural and fishery	47.5	26.7	46.4	51.6	42.9	27.4	29.5	28.5	41.6
Craft and related trades	6	12.9	9.9	7.2	9.6	16.7	22.7	19.9	10.7
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	1.1	2.9	3	3.3	2.8	6.1	4	5	3
Elementary occupation	39.3	48.9	28.9	16.9	32.7	33.5	27.1	30.1	32
Not Classified	0.1	0.1	0	0.1	0.1	0	0.6	0.3	0.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: PSEC Report.

## UNEMPLOYMENT RATES (URs)

The URs reflect the number of persons available and seeking employment as a proportions of the labour force. In developing countries a large number of the poor and people with low level of education cannot afford to be unemployed and undertake whatever work comes their way. While not gainfully employed, they do not report themselves as unemployed during the entire year. Therefore open unemployment (usual status) is typically found to be low. This is the reason daily status of URs are preferred over usual status of URs. See Table 9.4.

This shows there is no clear pattern of increase or decrease in URs for male and female over the period from 2004-5 to 2011-12. Generally, UR in Muslims is higher than other SRCs. In India, the dominant role of agriculture and prevalence of own account/home-based activities, result in low level of UR. Although people are not gainfully employed, still they report as employed in the related surveys. According to NSSO 66th Round (2009-10) report titled 'Employment and Unemployment situation among major SRCs in India' rate of unemployment has shown downward trend among Muslims. URs in both rural and urban areas was marginally

TABLE 9.4: URs FOR YOUTH (15-29 YRS) CONSIDERING  
PRINCIPAL STATUS FOR 2004-5 AND 2011-12

SRCs	Male				Female			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	2004-5	2011-12	2004-5	2011-12	2004-5	2011-12	2004-5	2011-12
H-ST	2.92	2.99	8.60	6.24	1.53	2.89	7.72	9.98
H-SC	5.17	6.70	12.41	7.67	5.46	6.11	17.23	14.21
H-OBC	4.53	5.61	7.93	8.31	5.90	6.59	16.54	14.09
H-UC	7.28	7.92	11.05	9.81	9.80	12.17	24.43	18.43
M-OBC	6.35	5.27	8.75	5.98	24.42	19.49	20.30	12.14
M-Gen	4.55	7.34	8.26	12.00	9.44	10.75	17.97	14.45
OR	8.13	8.18	15.38	12.71	20.44	19.42	30.96	21.20
All	5.21	6.09	10.02	8.87	7.00	7.83	19.93	15.63

Source: PSEC Report.

falling from 2.3 per cent in 2004-5 to 1.9 per cent in 2009-10 among Muslims in villages and from 4.1 to 3.2 per cent in urban centres during the last five year period. However, most of them were self-employed. Self-employment was also the highest among Muslim in urban centres at 46 per cent followed by Sikhs.<sup>1</sup>

#### CONDITION IN STATES

Maharashtra and Gujarat are selected here which have been ruled by the Congress and BJP respectively for a fairly long period.

The MRC observes that the unemployment is very high among Muslims. Muslim's WPR is 32.2 per cent; for male 49.7 and for female 13.9 per cent. In urban areas it is 31.3 while 34.1 per cent in rural areas. Muslims WPR is 11.8 pp less than that of Hindus in the state. Here also Muslims are self-employed in home-based industries. The MRC recommended 8 to 10 per cent reservation for Muslims in government jobs, ITIs and Polytechnics in Muslim areas for skill development, strengthening the marketing networks and opening new avenues for export of products by Muslim artisans.

According to a study by New Delhi-based CRDDP, Gujarat has higher unemployment rates for Muslims compared to even WB. In most states, Muslims form a higher percentage of the workforce in manufacturing and unorganized sector compared to Hindus and it is only in Gujarat the reverse is true. Fifty-four per cent of Muslims and 39 per cent Hindus are self-employed in the state. The gap is much less in WB where 53 per cent of Muslims and 45 per cent Hindus are self-employed. Compared to other states and compared to Hindus, larger share of Muslims in Gujarat are self-employed or undertake petty trade. The disparity is compounded by the fact that compared to other sectors, self-employment and petty trade has shown only a marginal income growth during the last two decades in comparison to other sectors of economy. Further, the FDIs and public investments in Gujarat are channelled into the organized sector where Muslim presence is low. This shows that employment condition of Muslims is worse as compared to Hindus in Gujarat.<sup>2</sup>

TRADITIONAL/HOME-BASED INDUSTRIES  
OF MUSLIMS

If we look at recent history, we find that Muslims had strong foothold in some of the major industries in India. Today they are out of mainstream businesses and employed in traditional industries. Malegaon, Bhiwandi and Dhule in Maharashtra are famous for hand-loom and power-loom. In UP, many of its districts are known for small and cottage industries dominated by Muslim labourers, artisans and craftsmen. Benaras and its adjoining districts are known for sarees, carpet and weaving, Firozabad for bangles, Moradabad for brassware, Rampur for knives, Aligarh for locks, Agra, Kanpur and Meerut for tanneries and leather industries, Saharanpur and adjoining areas for wood-work, Lucknow for chikan work, Allahabad for fruits, etc. In pre- and post-Ram Mandir movement years these centres were rocked by communal riots. The condition of workers engaged in these industries is not good.

## HAND-LOOMS/POWER-LOOMS

There are 24 lakh power-loom in India, nearly half of them in Maharashtra with Bhiwandi (8 lakh), Malegaon (2 lakh) and Dhule (10,000) accounting for 80 per cent of Maharashtra's and over 40 per cent of India's power-loom. Almost 90 per cent of these power-loom owners and workers are Muslims. The textile industry in Maharashtra engages over 35 million people. Given the low productivity of 80 to 100 m in a day and poor quality of products, the cloth is sold between Rs. 5 and 26 per m and the margin being as low as 10 paise at times. The condition of workers and owners is not good.

The centre has introduced a scheme called Textile Upgradation Fund Scheme (TUFS) to provide subsidy for modernization and technology upgradation for all sub-sectors – spinning, weaving and garments. Over 14 years, the centre has spent a whopping Rs. 75,000 crore in phases under the scheme. Since the implementation of TUFS, upgraded or shuttleless power-loom has reached 1.05 lakh, but the majority of these have been set up by



big companies. In Maharashtra, the number of shuttleless power-looms are 10,000, the bulk of them are in Ichalkaranji, a small town in Kolhapur district. There are 1,000 such power-looms in Bhiwandi but none in Dhule and Malegaon.

Many power-loom owners allege that they have been neglected due to their religion. Rashid Tahir Momin, then SP MLA from Bhiwandi and owner of a power-loom unit says, 'The entire subsidy under the scheme is tied to a bank loan. (But) Islamic law does not allow a Muslim to take or pay interest. . . . Many of these owners have not taken up the scheme'. For the last 15 years, Muslims have been demanding the centre to delink the subsidy from the bank loans. But, the centre has not accepted their demands. In 2013, it has introduced another scheme under which the centre would contribute Rs. 15,000 and the concerned state Rs. 10,000 to the weavers directly to upgrade their simple power-loom to a semi-automatic level. However, the weavers remain unimpressed. Even as Muslim-dominated power-loom centres face neglect, Ichalkaranji is at the vanguard of the textile boom and has surpassed Bhiwandi and Malegaon in production. The trade in Ichalkaranji is dominated by Hindus who have benefited much from TUFs. Now it has over one lakh power-looms and over 35 captive power projects. Due to general neglect and political apathy Muslims are not happy.<sup>3</sup> Demonetization has hit this industry very badly. As per an estimate about 50 per cent weavers have left their work and gone back to Bihar and UP.

#### LOCK INDUSTRY

Aligarh is famous for its lock industry. It is based on old technology and facing stiff competition from new and upgraded technologies. It urgently needs labs for new designs and testing facilities for its products. Due to negligence of the centre and state the industry is dying. Recently, the UP government formulated a new export policy but this industry has been left out of the plan.

#### BRASSWARE INDUSTRY

Moradabad is famous for its brassware industry which is again based on old technologies. It also needs technological upgradation

and government assistance. There is drop in the export of these products in recent times. Industry owners, majority of whom are Muslims, have taken huge loan from banks and government institutions. They demand that they are under the burden of loans and their loans should be waived off in the similar manner the loans of the farmers have been waived off.<sup>4</sup> Demonetization has hit this industry also very badly where production has gone down to a large extent.

#### TANNERY/LEATHER INDUSTRY

Kanpur, Agra and Meerut are famous for tanneries and leather industries. There are 402 tanneries in Kanpur, 400 of which are in Jajmau, a small suburb near Kanpur. So far, the UP Pollution Control Board (UPPCB) has cracked down on about 98 tanneries. By cutting off electricity and water supply, they have been closed down. So far total 175 tanneries have been closed: 77 closed earlier and 98 by UPPCB. 50 MLD of sewage from tanneries flows into the Ganga. This industry is also dominated by Muslims which is facing severe threat from modernization on one hand and UPPCB on the other. The National Green Tribunal (NGT) has threatened the owners that it would act against the tanneries if they don't stop pouring the untreated effluents into the Ganga.<sup>5</sup>

It is facing the ire of the communal elements in the administration. On the occasion of Kumbh Mela in Allahabad in February 2013, the tannery owners stopped their work which involved consumption of water and didn't pour polluted water into the Ganga. This caused them huge financial loss. Still the officials of the district administration, UPPCB and the Central Pollution Control Board had started to clamp down on tanneries. Tannery owners were threatened by officials that if they would raise their voice, they would meet the same fate as Haji Mohammad Ishaque. Haji Mohammad Ishaque was the owner of Upper India Tannery and he was very active in raising the voice of tannery owners. Seeing that the officials registered many cases against him and he was imprisoned and fined heavily. He became so disappointed that, he left India and now is settled in Saudi Arabia.<sup>6</sup> In 2017, the NGT warned that these tanneries would be shut down and relocated if

the tribunal's order to rejuvenate the river Ganga are not strictly followed.

#### BUTTON INDUSTRY

Buttons made of oysters from Mehsi, a small town in East Champaran district of Bihar, were till recently very famous in China and Japan. This place is also called the 'Pearl' of Bihar. This industry is also facing the problems of government apathy and old technologies. Till 1995, there were more than 400 button-making factories in Mehsi and surrounding areas. Now only 60 to 70 of them are operating. It is a famous traditional industry of Bihar and the state government should do something to save the dying industry.

From the analysis of Muslims' traditional industries, following observations come out:

1. The machinery is old and there has been no technological upgradation.
2. There is shortage of power supply in these areas.
3. There are no business-friendly policies implemented by the governments.
4. These have been on the target of communal elements.
5. They are facing stiff challenge from modernization and globalization.
6. New areas related to these industries are emerging where owners are not Muslims.

#### MUSLIMS IN GULF COUNTRIES

Since 1980s, Muslims in large number have been rushing to the Gulf countries in search of employment to make their 'career' and secure 'livelihood'. Majority of them include less educated and unskilled workers. It is true that the economic and financial condition of Muslims in several parts of India has improved due to this. However, it has not made a big change. Muslim expatriates are actually poorer than those of other religions. Several Hindutva elements have questioned this 'Gulf Money'. They say that it is flooding the Indian Muslim localities and religious institutions which is used for religious conversion. Their claim is not supported

by any evidence. They should note that non-Muslims are also working in the Gulf countries in large numbers. Non-Muslim Indians in the six GCC countries, though less in number compared to their Muslim counterparts, are much better-off when compared to their working conditions and standard of living. Majority of non-Muslims employees are in white collar jobs while Muslims are mostly employed in blue collar jobs. An interesting phenomenon in Gulf is that of the 'Hindu Maulvis'. These are non-Muslims who after learning Arabic language and graduating from *madrasas* of Bihar and UP are working in these countries for high wages.

The majority of these workers live in inhuman conditions – overcrowded, unsafe and unsanitary. Poor working condition is causing stress creating health problems for them. High cost of living coupled with and poor standard of living and financial constraints lead these employees to the situation of uncertainty leading to mental and psychological problems.<sup>7</sup> There are over 6 lakh expatriate Indians in Qatar, majority of whom are blue collar workers. More than 700 of these workers have died in Qatar since 2011, in 3 years. Most of these deaths have been reported in the construction work related to hosting of the FIFA World Cup.

As per a report submitted in January 2015 in the Parliament, there are 2.19 crore Indians based in all parts of the world of which 26.5 per cent (57.92 lakh) are in Gulf countries alone. As per the same report, 6,483 Indians are lodged in jails of 68 countries across the world, of which 45 per cent are in Gulf countries. The highest number of Indians in jail are in Saudi Arabia – a total of 1,469 prisoners. Many of the arrested persons are victims of recruitment scams. Organizations working for migrants' rights claim that the high number is because of a lackadaisical approach by the Indian government in providing legal and other aid to migrant workers. India and UAE have signed a prisoner exchange deal in November 2011 which gives Indian prisoners the choice to spend the remaining prison term in their own country. Since 2011 not a single Indian prisoner has been able to benefit from it. Government is more concerned about ensuring the well-being of white-collar workers than the poor workers.<sup>8</sup>

Indians are working in 122 countries but most of the cases of ill-treatment and harassments are reported from the Gulf coun-

tries. Indian embassies and consulates in Gulf receive complaints in thousands which are mostly about ill-treatment and harassment by the employer, non-payment of wages and salaries on time, stoppage of salary, seizure of passport, inhuman condition of work and absence of basic facilities. Saudi Arabia accounts for the highest number of such complaints. Indian authorities there had received 12,495 complaints from 2011 to 2014, i.e. in four years.<sup>9</sup>

#### THE NITAQAT LAW

The Middle East countries are going through a radical transformation. The uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya brought down the decades old oppressive regimes. Other countries in the region are also fearing the demand of political reforms and democracy. Saudi Arabia, fearing a similar kind of dissent and uprising, has announced a series of welfare schemes and reforms including one in labour laws. Viewing unemployment among local citizens as a 'long-term strategic challenge that needs to be corrected effectively', it has introduced the Nitaqat law. Under this law, all companies in Saudi Arabia are required to provide 10 per cent jobs to local youths. It also makes provisions for imprisonment and fine for those who are either without work permit or valid passports. After the second extended time line which ended on 3 November 2013, around 1.3 lakh Indians had returned from Saudi Arabia due to this.

Thus, for the poor and middle-class Muslims, the employment in gulf has provided a source of income, but it has not been easy to work there. Muslim employees live in inhuman conditions and go through a lot of hardships. Experts even point out that, since the 1970s this factor was the single most important reason for the Muslims to lag behind in education.

#### A DAY IN THE LIFE OF...

SHAKEEL AHMAD, POWER-LOOM WORKER,  
DHULE, MAHARASHTRA

He lives in a congested bylane of Azad Nagar in Dhule along with his family and works on a handloom-converted-powerloom in his

150 sq ft cramped workshop. He prepares kitschy sarees and earns Rs. 110 a day. The condition in which Ahmad and millions of traditional powerlooms owners work is shocking along with total political apathy.

HASHIM RAZA, 25, LINESMAN, GURGAON

Raza, a contract labourer with the Dakshin Haryana Bijli Vitran Nigam in Gurgaon, walks on wires or hangs from more than 100 ft height to ensure Gurgaon homes get power. Ironically in the hut where he lives there is no electricity. Raza belongs to Bihar and earns Rs. 10,000 a month and sends home around 7,000. It is not an easy task for Raza. In 2013, four of Raza's friends were electrocuted in Palam Vihar in a government *bijli ghar*.<sup>10</sup>

MOHAMMAD ADIL, TANNERY WORKER, KANPUR

Adil, 30, who lives in Jajmau area in Kanpur, works in a tannery. He has been in this job for the last 10 years and earns up to Rs. 6,000 a month. He works with dangerous chemicals which often burn his skin. He handles buffalo ears and hides. His wife hates the way he smells because of contact with these chemicals. But for Adil, there is no alternate work.<sup>11</sup>

#### SCHEMES, PROGRAMMES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

One of the five sub-committees of the NMCME was on vocational training and skill development in MCDs. The UPA-II government passed the Street Vendors (Protection of Livelihood and Regulation of Street Vending) Bill, 2014. The Act ensures the rights of the street vendors. As per the SCR, Muslims constitute the highest percentage of persons who work on streets but have no fixed location, i.e. street vending. It was 7.4 in urban and 5.8 per cent in rural areas which were the highest among all SRCs. Thus, it is expected that Muslims would take maximum benefit from the Act. *Seekho aur Kamao* (Learn and Earn), a scheme started by the UPA-II in September 2013, seeks to impart training for upgrading the skills of minority youths in various modern/traditional vocations to en-

able them get suitable employment. In 2013-14, 2014-15 and 2015-16, Rs. 17, 35 and 67.45 crore respectively were allotted by the government for it. Increased budget provision shows the present government priority about the scheme. However, expert say that this scheme too is only on paper as there is no expert training and no increased opportunities of employment (<http://twocircles.net>). The present government has set up the Maulana Azad National Academy for Skills (MANAS) for skill development training of people from the minority community. It will focus at providing skill training or upgradation of skill in those sector of economy in which there is shortage or demand is likely to emerge in future, so that they can find gainful employment or self-employment. An MoU has been signed between MANAS and the National Skill Development Corporation (NSDC) to establish an extensive All India Collaborative Network for the academy. Under MANAS, a scheme of skill training centres in *madrasas* has been launched on a pilot basis, in three *madrasas* of Bihar. In May 2015, the government launched USTAAD (Upgrading Skills and Training in Preservation of Traditional Arts/Crafts) to impart training to minority youth in skill development to preserve the traditional arts/crafts. It has identified 18 crafts.

Bihar implements a programme called 'HUNAR'. NIOS, in collaboration with Bihar Education Project Council (BEPC), started the programme to impart skill development training to Muslim girls in Bihar in 7 vocational courses since 2008-9. These courses include Gram Sakhi, Cutting, Tailoring and Dress Making, Basic Rural Technology, Jute Production, Bakery and Confectionary, Beauty Parlour and Early Childhood Care and Education. In the first phase 13,768 Muslim girls have been imparted training out of which 11,347 passed the examination. In HUNAR Phase II, Bihar asked NIOS to target 50,000 more girls from Muslim, SCs, STs and the most backward communities for 2010-11. In that phase, 45,298 girls from various communities had enrolled for those courses. Seeing the success of HUNAR in Bihar, the Delhi state government launched it on 26 February 2011 to impart skill development training to girls free of cost.

Seeing the high unemployment rate among Muslims and their

adverse WPRs, the effort of the central government is very small. Only skill development trainings have been started. Genuine effort to improve the economic and employment condition of Muslims has not been done by the Central as well as the state governments.

### SOME INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVES

Some individuals have taken good initiatives to address the adverse employment condition among Muslims. Zahra Fatima, from Bangalore has started 'HalalJobs.in' website to cater to the needs of the Indian Muslim youths. The website seeks not only to connect the employers and candidates but also to assist them in having the best working environment as permitted in Islam. Started in December 2013, the site includes jobs related to sales & marketing, education and IT. It does not list jobs related to banking industry, liquor sale and liquor brewing industries. 'Made in Mumbra' Exhibition was organized in March 2015 at Mumbra, a small town near Thane by Al-Aqsa Education and Welfare Trust and Young Entrepreneur Forum, Mumbai. It highlighted the infrastructural facilities available there for opening new industries. The exhibition had stalls showcasing security surveillance, moulding and engine materials, clothes, colours, perfumes, cakes, etc. It was organized in April 2016 also which was visited by 5,000 people and 35 businesses participated in it. Peace Foundation of Patna, in coordination with Asim Bihar Foundation, has started Computer Learning Centre for Muslim students of poor families at Emadpur village in Bihar Sharif district. This is aimed to create job opportunities for poor students living in rural areas. To make famous the Hyderabad *haleem* all over the world, M.A. Majeed has taken a lot of initiatives. His 'Pasta House', which basically serves Hyderabad food, has been started even in USA, Australia and Canada. Junaid Shahid, a Kashmiri youth, has taken an innovative step to popularize *pashmina* products all over the world. He has started a e-commerce portal (phamab.co.in) to promote the sale of *pashmina* products all over the world. Indian Muslim Relief and Charities (IMRC) has decided to establish ten skill development centres in ten blocks of Bihar.



## SOME INNOVATIVE STEPS

## MUSLIM CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

Muslim businessmen do their business legally and pay taxes regularly but their interests are ignored by the government as well as local administration. They also face considerable hurdles in their business. The mainstream business organizations do not support the demand of Muslim traders due to the presence of communal elements in these organizations. Considering these points the entrepreneurs of Aligarh formed MCCI in September 2013. The aim of MCCI is to protect the interest of the Muslims business community and raise their demands at proper forums.

## IMAMIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

The ICCI, a business chamber of Shia community, was established by Major S.J.M. Jafri in February 2014 with a vision to actively facilitate and enable an environment in which the business and enterprise of the Imamia community can flourish. Its aim is to create awareness and bridge the gaps so that business of the community can be mainstreamed. Five regional chapters of ICCI have been opened at Lucknow, Delhi, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Hyderabad. It has formed five working committees for better coordination and appointed Javed Jafri as its brand ambassador.

## MAEESHAT MEDIA

The present age belongs to IT, networking, collaboration, sharing ideas and coordination among various sectors of the economy. However, we see none of these good things into practice by Muslim businessmen in general and Muslim entrepreneurs in particular. The community members are away from mainstream businesses. Observing the need, a Maeeshat Media Pvt. Limited (MMPL) was established in Bangalore by Danish Reyaz. It publishes a monthly magazine titled *Bainulaqwami Maeeshat* in Urdu which mainly covers stories on businesses of the Muslim community. The MMPL ([www.maeeshat.in](http://www.maeeshat.in)) also publishes the same magazine online in

English, Hindi, Persian and Arabic languages. The motive is to create awareness about government schemes in the community, to highlight the economic issues of the community, discuss the hurdles in the business and to make effort to bring the Muslim community into mainstream business, both financially and economically.

#### ALL INDIA MINORITIES BUSINESS SUMMIT

Maeeshat Media's founder and editor, Danish Reyaz organized the first All India Minorities Business summit in Bangalore in 2009. Since then he has organized six such summits in big cities of India. The last summit, the 6th of its kind, was organized in Delhi on 21 November 2014. The summits have been organized on important topics related to business and industry. The objectives of the summits are to call Muslim businessmen, entrepreneurs and industrialists on a common platform, discuss the current issues and problems and raise their demands on appropriate forums. The idea is also to give a common platform so that they can have a better coordination among them on common issues.

#### NEW OPPORTUNITIES

In a country, as large as India, opportunities abound. Only thing is that Muslims are required to be vigilant and read a lot about current issues on socio-economic scenario in the country. New opportunities are coming up for which one must be mindful.

#### MEAT PROCESSING COURSE

Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) in collaboration with the Ministry of Food Processing Industry has started a one-year distance diploma meat processing course since 2013. The aim is to provide knowledge and skills for quality production of meat and its products, to achieve technical proficiency in good slaughter practices, handling meat on scientific lines and perform testing and quality control. The mediums of instruction are English and Hindi and students who have passed X or XII can apply.

Since majority of the people involved in meat industry are Muslims, this course will be of great help for them.

#### COMMERCIAL DAIRYING

Muslims belonging to Momin Shia sect of Kamyabpur village near Banaskantha of Gujarat are now engaged in commercial dairy business and earning good money from it. They have formed milk societies and have been contributing to Amul since 2009. Out of Banaskantha unions 1,374 village societies, 40 are now headed by Muslims. Till decades ago, they were growing regular crops but now they are into milk business. President of the Kamyabpura society, Mohammad Bhai Parbadiya has 48 cows, 17 calves and two buffaloes. His entire 7.5 acre land is dedicated to cultivating fodder crops. There are many big dairy businesses owned by Muslims in western Maharashtra.

#### JEWELLERY INDUSTRY

The enormous craving for gold in India is not hidden – gold is bought during weddings, as gifts, festivals, investment, etc. Toheed Jewellers started its first retail gold showroom in Solapur in 2003 with emphasis on 100 per cent resale, be it in cash or in the form of replacement. They have successfully implemented it in Mumbra and Kurla in Mumbai. Tawakkal Jewellers started a showroom in Govandi in Mumbai and have followed the footsteps of Toheed Jewellers in giving 100 per cent resale. The policy has attracted many consumers to purchase gold and these jewellers are doing good business. It has potential to flourish in Muslim areas.

#### COURSES ON GEMS AND JEWELLERY

It is a traditional industry in India which is flourishing on a large scale. Annual turnover of this industry is of Rs. 2,51,000 crore and there are a lot of opportunities for career-making. Seeing the huge potential, Divya Ratan Gems & Jewellery Pvt. Ltd. has started international level courses. These courses include Basic Jewellery

Designing, Diamond Grading, Gems Testing, Jewellery Manufacturing, Gemology, Pearl and Pearl Grading, etc. It is an innovative area for career making which has a huge potential (*Aaj Ka Anand*, 10 May 2015). Similarly there are ample opportunities in other sectors of Indian Economy.

### SOME SUGGESTIONS

The SCR and RMCR consist of several recommendations which if implemented honestly and properly, the economic and employment condition of Muslim would improve drastically. The governments must implement these recommendations. It should focus sharply on skill development and flow of credits in sectors where Muslim workers are concentrated and which have shown more growth in recent time. Muslims are engaged in power-looms, tannery, leather, lock industry, brassware, *bidi* making, etc. Hence the possibility of area and industry specific programmes should be explored. In these areas, skill development, credit flow, technology and market support would be critical. Given the educational backwardness in the community, certain types of skill development programmes after middle school may be useful. Reducing the minimum qualification for polytechnic and ITI may also be useful. The share of Muslims in the government and public sector employment remains very low. The government can correct this deficit by planned and targeted recruitment drives in Muslim concentration areas. It must introduce incentives to public and private sector companies for affirmative action implemented by them. These companies must be encouraged to launch skill development training and internship programme for Muslims. A number of West Asian countries are ready to invest in micro-finance and skill development. The government should allow FDI in these sectors.

On community level, certificate courses can be run in Muslim-owned colleges for training the students in various job skills such as communication skill, computer (software and hardware), public relations, marketing, fashion designing, journalism, human resource, etc. Workshops and skill upgradation programmes can be organized in areas where Muslim artisans live in large numbers to make

them learn about innovative method of designing and packaging as well as good trade practices for marketing and exports.

On individual level, Muslim artisans and craftsmen can upgrade their skills regularly and adopt new technology and latest trade practices. New opportunities like meat processing, dairy, jewellery industry, etc., can be adopted. The employment market is fast changing according to the global needs. One should change accordingly. There is no alternative to higher education. Our youths should work hard and make good effort for government and public sector employment and take part in various new emerging fields.

## NOTES

1. [http://twocircles.net/2013jul30/rate\\_joblessness\\_shows\\_downward\\_trend\\_among\\_muslims.html](http://twocircles.net/2013jul30/rate_joblessness_shows_downward_trend_among_muslims.html)
2. *The Milli Gazette*, New Delhi, 1-15 January 2013.
3. *The Indian Express*, Pune, 22 April 2014.
4. *Inquilab*, Mumbai, 28 January 2013.
5. *The Indian Express*, Pune, 15 March 2015.
6. *Inquilab*, Mumbai, 9 February 2013.
7. [http://www.ummid.com/news/2013/March/31.03.2013/indian\\_expat\\_on\\_muslims\\_in\\_middle\\_est.htm](http://www.ummid.com/news/2013/March/31.03.2013/indian_expat_on_muslims_in_middle_est.htm)
8. *The Indian Express*, Pune, 9 January 2015.
9. *Inquilab*, Mumbai, 9 December 2014.
10. *The Indian Express*, Pune, 24 August 2014.
11. *Ibid.*, 15 March 2015.

## Access to Banks and Bank Credit

### INTRODUCTION

In today's world, access to bank credit is critical for economic development. Banks play an important role in providing credit which is used for investment in economic activities. Unequal access to public and private banking institutions across SRCs can perpetuate disparities. Government has taken steps to extend banking facilities to all section of the society. However, inclusive banking in the country is still a distant dream. Muslims find it difficult to open bank accounts and are deprived of bank credit due to discriminatory practices adopted by bank staff.

As per the SCR, 'The access of Muslims to bank credit is low and inadequate and average size of the credit is also meagre and low compared with other SRCs both in Public Sector Banks (PuSBs) and Private Sector Banks (PrSBs)'. The Reserve Bank of India (RBI) has found lack of thrust for increasing the credit flow to minorities in lead banks. Several studies have concluded that Muslim-majority areas have been discriminated against; there is a general apathy to provide credit and banking staff have not been sensitized to address the exclusive needs of the minorities. Financial inclusion means the delivery of financial services: credit saving, insurance, remittance, etc., at the affordable cost to the disadvantaged section and the low income segment of the society. The Planning Commission (PC) has accepted that it is the only way to travel towards inclusive growth to become a global power.

The majority of India's financially excluded segments consists of self-employed, small vendors (hawkers), small entrepreneurs in

the unorganized sector, urban slum dwellers and the poor. Indian Muslims comprise a vast proportion of this segment. To achieve financial inclusion of minorities, the RBI issues guidelines from time to time. The RBI had suggested the lead banks in 44 MCDs to: (a) Nominate officers in each district to look after the problems regarding the credit flow to minorities; (b) Monitor and review of progress in the flow of credit on a regular basis at the meeting of District Consultative Committees; (c) Training of bank staff as per the need to sensitize them; (d) Timely sanction and disbursement of loans by banks; and (e) Give adequate publicity for various poverty alleviation programmes in MCDs. However, after an evaluation study, the RBI concluded that these guidelines have not been implemented by the lead banks in 44 MCDs as a result of which minorities are deprived of bank credits.<sup>1</sup>

#### SOME OBSERVATIONS

As per an study conducted by the Centre for Peace Studies (CPS), 41.5 per cent respondents had accounts in nationalized banks while 55 per cent had no bank accounts. See Table 10.1.

The majority of Muslims turn to relatives, moneylenders and neighbours for securing a loan. The study mentions that 13 per cent people had applied for loans and 87 per cent had not. 1.7 per cent had applied for housing loan while only 0.5 for education

TABLE 10.1: SOURCE OF LOAN

Source of Loan	No of Respondents	%
No response	796	9.8
Moneylender	1,886	23.3
Relative	2,812	34.8
Neighbour	1,377	17.0
Credit society	534	6.6
Other	677	8.4
Total	8,082	100.00

*Source:* 'Broken Promises', A study on the socio-economic status of Indian Muslims by the CPS (2014).

loans. It shows total exclusion of Muslims from bank loans. It also shows that outreach programmes and RBI's circular have not made any impact in increasing the share of credit to Muslims.

PRIORITY SECTOR LENDING (PSL)  
BY SCHEDULED COMMERCIAL BANKS (SCBs)

All Scheduled Commercial Banks (ASCB) are required to specially monitor the credit flow to minorities in 121 districts having at least 25 per cent minority population as per the 2001 Census. As per the master circular of RBI dated 1 July 2014, the priority sectors are: (1) Agriculture; (2) Micro and Small Enterprises; (3) Education; (4) Housing; (5) Export Credit, and (6) Others.

Amount disbursed to minorities under PSL was Rs. 58,663 crore in 2007-8, which increased to Rs. 1,64,748 crore in 2011-12, almost a three times increase in four years. The achievement in target has been 90 per cent in 2007-8, 95.5 in 2008-9, 85.9 in 2009-10, 92 in 2010-11 and 89.5 per cent in 2011-12. However, the share of credit lent to minorities under PSL has ranged between 7.5 in 2006-7 and 11.3 per cent in 2012-13, much below the share of minorities in total population.

Muslims are lagging far behind in terms of PSL of SCBs. Both targets and achievements in Muslim-concentrated areas have been quite low. Achievements in Assam, Bihar, WB and Maharashtra have been relatively lower. PSL to minorities was 16.09 per cent of total PSL in 2013-14 by banks. However, Muslims could get only 44.3 per cent, while Sikhs had 24.58, Christians 21.87, Buddhists 2.06, Parsis 2.23, and Jains 4.96 per cent from the total PSL to minorities in the same year. Thus, Muslims and Buddhists are not able to corner proper share. Banks are required to take corrective steps to remove these gaps by focussing on Muslims and by opening branches in Muslim areas. See Table 10.2.

Credit to minorities under PSL by PuSBs has been increasing over the years. However, the target achievement is around 90 per cent. Besides, Muslims have not received it according to their share in minority population. Presenting the budget for 2014-15 in February 2014, then finance minister had said that when the UPA



TABLE 10.2: STATE-WISE PSL TO MINORITIES BY PuSBs  
IN LAST 4 YEARS

State/UT	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	(Rs. in crore)
				2014-15 (as on 30.9.2014)
A&N Islands	172.26	176.77	176.24	174.41
AP	12,402.56	14,384.30	20,775.73	13,018.16
Arunachal Pradesh	149.63	207.46	384.67	407.55
Assam	2,471.58	2,565.56	2,896.74	3,022.45
Bihar	2,927.39	2,888.71	3,450.98	3,484.28
Chandigarh	1,264.36	1,188.31	1,696.79	1,819.77
Chhattisgarh	835.14	929.4	1,524.39	1,634.91
D&N Haveli	10.46	11.78	18.03	18.77
Daman & Diu	12.97	15.56	19.26	22.62
Delhi	4,224.67	5,578.2	7,168.52	7,198.1
Goa	1,466.66	1,430.08	1,809.54	1,720.22
Gujarat	2,953.34	3,847.95	5,388.87	5,734.86
Haryana	4,655.65	4,834.39	5,703.42	5,701.23
HP	635.35	632.77	705.37	729.13
Jharkhand	1,753.00	1,919.93	1,842.39	2,052.78
Karnataka	10,477.32	11,603.89	14,823.67	15,292.6
Kerala	23,048.67	27,974.99	31,828.52	34,072
MP	4,164.84	4,386.7	5,993.33	5,990.29
Maharashtra	12,755.66	13,979.06	24,579.98	26,037.7
Manipur	242.73	225.7	274.53	272.32
Odisha	2,236.86	2,306.17	2,733.85	2,739.89
Puducherry	286.57	403.53	1,013.53	798.76
Rajasthan	4,065.46	4,471.37	8,124.95	8,001.82
Sikkim	409.16	427.96	492.94	435.96
TN	14,763.37	17,519.59	23,918.46	25,191.52
Tripura	288.20	297.47	302.94	298.51
Telangana	—	—	—	8,846.81
UP	14,953.17	15,751.1	19,006.8	19,139.57
Uttarakhand	1,831.69	2,008.38	2,794.23	2,857.82
WB	8,189.95	9,428.52	11,022.7	10,780.63
J&K	1,077.31	1,175.41	1,316.03	1,199.17
Meghalaya	813.68	841.1	1,059.45	998.59
Mizoram	610.51	594.61	668.57	680.38
Nagaland	593.57	638.45	657.3	623.98
Punjab	27,939.34	30,532.07	36,602.86	37,938.92
Lakshadweep	65.32	56.11	62.68	56.68
Total	1,64,748.4	1,85,233.4	2,40,838.3	2,48,761.84

Source: Minority Affair Minister's speech in Lok Sabha on 10 December 2014.<sup>2</sup>

took over office 10 years back, the minorities had 14,15,000 bank accounts in 121 MCDs. At the end of March 2013, they had 43,52,000 accounts and the loans to minorities on national level had stood at Rs. 211,451 crore at the end of December 2013.

To increase financial inclusion of minorities, a total of 19,119 branches of PuSBs have been opened in areas with substantial minority population (SMP) as on 31 March 2014. During 2014-15, 1,153 new branches were opened in areas with SMP.

#### NATIONAL MINORITIES DEVELOPMENT AND FINANCE CORPORATION

The NMDFC was set up in 1994 with objective to 'promote economic and development activities for benefit of "backward sections" among the minorities, preference being given to various occupational groups and women'.

Its authorized capital in 1994-5 was Rs. 500 crore which rose to Rs. 1,500 crore in 2010-11. Sixty-five per cent (975 crore) of it was earmarked for the central government, 26 (390 crore) for the state/UTs and the remaining 9 per cent (135 crore) for organizations and individuals engaged in promotion of economic welfare of minorities. Its paid-up share capital as on 31 March 2011 was Rs. 933.17 crore of which 760.36 crore had been contributed by the Centre and Rs. 172.80 crore by state/UTs. There has been a contribution of only Rs. 55,000 from other organizations or individuals so far. Many states do not regularly contribute to the equity of NMDFC to the extent to which they are expected to. It has two channels to reach out to the ultimate beneficiaries: State Channeling Agencies (SCA) and NGOs. It has 36 such operational SCAs in 27 states and 7 UTs and 254 NGOs all over the country. It provides two types of lending: Term Loan and Micro Finance.

#### TERM LOANS

It is the NMDFC's main activity under which SCAs provide loans up to Rs. 5 lakh at concessional rates. It provides assistance up to 85 per cent and the remaining 15 per cent being contributed by

SCAs and the beneficiary. The condition of loan is that the project should be commercially viable and technically feasible. The beneficiary has to contribute a minimum of 5 per cent. See Table 10.3.

Amount disbursed under it has been quite low. The number of beneficiaries rose up to a maximum of 35,552 in 2004-5 and came down to 21,318 in 2013-14. The amount disbursed in 2013-14 was only Rs. 202.50 crore, thus amount per beneficiary was very low. The amount lent has been low in comparison to that by SCBs.

State-wise disbursement (the PSEC Report), shows that the amount disbursed and the number of beneficiaries have been extremely low in some states. There are some states which have not

TABLE 10.3: TERM LOAN SCHEME OF NMDFC

Year	Amount Disbursed (crore)	Beneficiaries	Amount/ Beneficiary (Rs.)
1994-5	30.03	9,570	31,379.3
1995-6	6.49	4,797	13,529.3
1996-7	44.23	10,749	41,148.0
1997-8	23.41	4,932	47,465.5
1998-9	59.39	14,333	41,435.8
1999-2000	60.77	22,510	26,996.9
2000-1	72.43	20,274	5,725.6
2001-2	92.06	21,489	42,840.5
2002-3	71.03	16,348	43,448.7
2003-4	82.24	18,184	45,226.6
2004-5	130.72	35,552	36,768.7
2005-6	98.10	23,408	41,908.7
2006-7	99.58	22,301	44,652.7
2007-8	130.90	31,574	41,458.2
2008-9	114.79	34,985	32,811.2
2009-10	139.01	30,892	44,998.7
2010-11	129.47	28,768	45,004.9
2011-12	111.99	17,172	65,216.6
2012-13	184.39	19,361	95,237.8
2013-14	202.50	21,318	94,990.1
Total	1,883.53	4,08,514	46,106.9

Source: MMA.

disbursed any loan over a long period. Some states where Muslims are in large numbers, have totally neglected the scheme. The state/UT governments are expected to show some interest in implementing it for welfare of minorities.

#### MICRO FINANCE

The micro finance lending scheme was started on 1 April 1998 with the objective to reach to the poorest among the target group, especially the minority women scattered in remote villages and urban slums, who are not able to take advantage of credit from normal banks and NMDFC programme through SCAs. A loan up to Rs. 25,000 per beneficiary are sanctioned through the network of NGOs and SHGs. Funds are given to NGOs at an interest rate of 1 per cent which they lend it to the actual beneficiary at an interest rate of 5 per cent through the SHGs. (See Table 10.4).

Amount disbursed is not high. Given the high level deprivation among Muslims and size of the Muslim population, there is an urgent need to increase the credit amount and the number of beneficiaries. State-wise disbursement under it, reveals that only a few states like AP, Bihar, J&K, Kerala and TN have got the major share. Many states have not used the scheme to the desirable extent.

#### *Evaluation Study of the NMDFC*

As per an evaluation study only 8.69 per cent beneficiaries had loan size of more than Rs. 1 lakh, 48.07 per cent had loan size below Rs. 50,000 and rest had loan size between Rs. 50,000 and 1 lakh. It also shows that after getting loans startling economic betterment was seen and significant proportion of beneficiaries went to APL (Above Poverty Line) from the BPL category. In spite of good results, the recovery rate continues to be poor and disbursement scanty. The NMDFC has not widened its loan network to benefit more beneficiaries. Other observations are: (1) The time for loan disbursal is not standardized; (2) The total flow of credit from the NMDFC is very small; (3) Poor recovery has affected the sustainability of NMDFC schemes; (4) Funds for the

TABLE 10.4: MICRO-CREDIT LENDING OF NMDFC

*(Rs. in crore)*

Year	Amount Disbursed	Beneficiaries	Amount/ Beneficiary
1998-9	0.43	3,281	1,310.6
1999-2000	0.52	7,359	706.6
2000-1	1.00	11,418	875.8
2001-2	4.78	24,529	1,948.7
2002-3	2.90	7,540	3,846.2
2003-4	4.42	9,415	4,694.6
2004-5	8.29	11,034	7,513.1
2005-6	10.01	10,893	9,189.4
2006-7	13.17	25,482	5,168.4
2007-8	13.22	16,159	8,181.2
2008-9	15.93	16,213	9,825.5
2009-10	58.73	73,702	7,968.6
2010-11	103.79	1,29,742	7,999.7
2011-12	159.38	88,702	17,968.0
2012-13	186.7	82,974	22,501.0
2013-14	122.96	54,648	22,500.4
Total	706.22	5,73,095	12,322.9

*Source: MMA.*

NMDFC has to be increased to expand its base; and (5) Regular flow of funds to NMDFC.

Questions have been raised on NMDFC's working, particularly ignoring the interest of the Muslim community. At many places banks have been appointed as channellizing agency discarding the community based financial institutions and community-run NGOs. According to NMDFC 6.8 per cent Muslims of Maharashtra hold bank accounts, but only 0.2 per cent are able to get bank loans. Once Asaduddin Owaisi alleged that the NMDFC was not doing its job properly in Maharashtra. Its micro-credit scheme of Rs. 350 crore had not yielded any result as 3,311 labourers from other minority communities were allocated loans while loan applications of weavers of Malegaon and Bhiwandi were rejected.<sup>3</sup>

## MUSLIM COOPERATIVE BANKS

Having encountered the apathy of the PuSBs and PrSBs in awarding loans to Muslims, some concerned community members have started cooperative banks, in big cities of India, specifically to serve the financial need of the poor among Muslims. Some of these prominent banks are: (1) Bombay Mercantile Cooperative Bank, Mumbai; (2) The Muslim Cooperative Bank Ltd., Pune; (3) Memon Cooperative Bank, Mumbai; (4) Amanath Cooperative Bank, Bangalore; and (5) The Bihar Awami Cooperative Bank Ltd., Patna.

Of these five banks, the Muslim Cooperative Bank based in Pune, run by P.A. Inamdar, has been doing very well. It has 27 branches in and around Pune and some in Mumbai also. With Rs. 500 crore net capital, it has given micro credit to many poor and needy members of the community.

The Bombay Mercantile Cooperative Bank was established in 1939 by the great visionary Shaikh Mohammad Allabax along with Zain G. Rangoonwala for the upliftment of downtrodden section of the society. It has been providing financial assistance to petty businessmen, vegetable vendors, taxi drivers, small shopkeepers, skilled craftsmen and weaker sections of the society. The bank has 52 branches spread over 10 states and in 1998 it was given the status of 'Scheduled Bank' by the RBI. Nearly 95 per cent shareholders of the bank belong to the lower middle class.

Unfortunately, many of these community-run banks, due to corruption, financial irregularities and unhealthy practices, are facing financial crisis and are on the verge of collapse. The Bangalore-based Amanath Bank faced financial crisis in 2013 due to allegations of misappropriation of funds. Then, Canara Bank was planning to take over the Amanath Bank.<sup>4</sup> The operation of the Memon Cooperative Bank, which had 15 branches in Maharashtra and 3 in Gujarat had been suspended since May 2009 due to its precarious financial condition. That time the Bank had 225 employees, loan book of Rs. 200 crore and deposit base of Rs. 290 crore. The Bank of Baroda had received approvals from the RBI and the government in 2010 to take over the Bank.<sup>5</sup> These banks are established by the visionary members of the community for financial inclu-

sion. But, the majority of these banks are facing problems due to various reasons. There are success stories also.

#### NEGATIVE GEOGRAPHICAL ZONES

The Sachar Committee received information that some banks used the practice of identifying 'negative geographical zones (NGZ)' on the basis of certain criteria where bank credit and other facilities were not easily provided. This practice is referred to as 'Red Lining' in the US and 'Negative Zoning' by some bankers in India. On the basis of information furnished by one of the SCBs, the characteristics of negative zones are: (1) Either the bank has experienced high delinquencies or where, based on market information such areas are known to be highly delinquent zones; (2) Crime rates are relatively high; (3) Banks' ability to recover dues are undermined by the existence of anti-social elements; (4) There are many illegal structures constructed in violation of municipal laws thereby preventing the loan recovery; (5) Addresses are difficult to trace; (6) High security areas where permission is normally not granted to civilians to enter, e.g. military cantonment, defence areas, atomic plant townships, etc.; and (7) Low income levels, implying that credit exposure in such areas will be prone to high credit risks.<sup>6</sup>

The characteristics of NGZ are produced here verbatim from the SCR, to make the community member aware about the basis on which a particular area can be declared as NGZ. As per the SCR, some banks have identified a number of Muslim areas as NGZs. Dharavi, Sewree, Kidwainagar in Mumbai and Gomitpur and Asarva in Ahmedabad are such zones. As per a delegation which met the Sachar Committee in January 2006, 'Muslim dominated areas are declared "Negative zone" by banks and credit companies without any proper investigation and thereby Muslim individuals desirous of setting up or expanding business are denied the opportunity to avail bank loans'.<sup>7</sup> The MRC notes that Muslims in Maharashtra have lower share in bank credit than other SCRs due to blacklisting of Muslim areas. Government should make compulsory the SCBs to open branches in Muslim areas and take strict action in case of religious bias against Muslims.

ISLAMIC BANKING OR INTEREST-FREE  
BANKING SYSTEM

. . . Certain faiths prohibit the use of financial instruments that pay interest. The non-availability of interest-free banking products . . . results in some Indians, including those in the economically disadvantaged strata of society, not being able to access banking products and services due to reasons of faith. This non-availability also denies Indian access to substantial sources of savings from other countries in the region.

. . . the Committee recommends that measures be taken to permit the delivery of interest-free finance on a large scale, including through the banking system. This is in consonance with the objectives of inclusion and growth through innovation. The committee believes that it would be possible, through appropriate measures, to create a framework for such products without any adverse systematic risk impact.<sup>8</sup>

*Excerpt from report of the Committee for  
Financial Sector Reforms, headed by  
Dr. Raghuram Rajan, former RBI Governor*

Interest-based lending contradicts with Islamic principles which prohibits interest-linked transactions. Charging and receiving interest is considered usury, and prohibited under Sharia. Sharia bars 'unethical or immoral monetary loans' that are intended to unfairly enrich the lender. It also prohibits investment in companies or projects associated with alcohol, gambling, casinos, non-halal food products, pornography and conventional financial institutions based on interest.

The RBI has not permitted Islamic banking so far. It has understood to have told the government that if Islamic banking is to be permitted, it must bring in legislation that is consistent with Islamic banking. In 2013, the Ministry of Finance had requested the RBI to give its opinion about feasibility of introducing Islamic Banking in India. Accordingly, an Inter-Departmental Group (IDG) on Islamic Banking was constituted in the RBI, and the report prepared by it was submitted to the government in February 2016.

On international level, Islamic banking is growing very fast and becoming increasingly popular. It has functioning models in more than 75 countries and has emerged as a viable alternative world over after the financial meltdown of the West. According to ex-



perts, it is growing at the rate of more than 15 per cent. Not only Muslim countries but many modern, secular and industrialized countries like UK, France, Japan, Singapore and Hong Kong have become hub of Islamic banking.

If position of Islamic banking on SWOT (Strength, Weaknesses, Opportunity and Threat) scale is analysed, we get its clear picture and its future in India.

*Strength:* Its fundamental objective is to eliminate exploitation of borrowers. It considers lending as an investment and distributes investment risk between the users and suppliers of fund. It reduces the chances of bankruptcy to a great extent.

*Weaknesses:* Indian banking laws do not permit Islamic banking. Other weakness is that banks and entrepreneurs have to function closely which is not possible in all cases. Monitoring of data about firms in which Islamic bank invests would involve exorbitant cost.

*Opportunity:* (1) Muslims population is close to 18 crore and majority of them, in the name of religious faith, are looking for interest-free banking and finance; (2) People of other religious faith can also avail the facilities; (3) Indian expatriates in Saudi Arabia have huge potential and they can invest here which could generate huge capital for India; and (4) It can attract Saudi investors, businessmen and banks to invest and operate in Indian market which could generate huge capital for infrastructural development.

*Threats:* Islamic banking could be a huge political issue. Some communal elements, without proper understanding of the subject, can term it as anti-Indian. Some vested interest may communalize the finance sector in India.<sup>9</sup>

Islamic finance has now grown to be a 1.3 trillion dollar financial service. Experts say that in the coming decade there will be a requirement of 5 lakh professionals to monitor Islamic finance. Seeing this opportunity, some universities are offering courses on Islamic banking and finance. AMU has started a diploma course in Islamic Banking and Finance. Monad University in UP in collaboration with Institute of Islamic Banking Finance & Insurance, Chennai has introduced a PG Diploma in Islamic Banking and Finance (PGDIBF), MBA and PhD in Islamic Finance. IIM, Kashipur has organized Management Development Programme on 'Islamic

Banking & Finance'. MANUU, in collaboration with Bombay Stock Exchange (BSE) Institute Ltd., has offered one-year PG Diploma course in Islamic Finance.

It has already got limited entry in India. On the application of the Kerala government, the RBI has given sanction to open financial institutions which are based on Islamic finance. Kerala government has assessed that the step would generate Rs. 40,000 crore capital which could be used in infrastructural development.<sup>10</sup> Recent High Court judgement has also cleared the way. Subsequently, the Kerala government announced to tap utilized funds from NRIs to open up Islamic Finance for huge infrastructure development and allowed an NBFC Al-Barakah to function on Sharia principles. Present Kerala Finance Minister Dr. Thomas Issac is very much in this favour. Kochi-based Cheraman Financial Service Limited, the only Non-banking Financial Corporation (NBFC) in India, has been asked by the state to operate on Islamic Banking principles. AP government has also announced that it is launching interest-free loans to help SHGs and micro finance institutions.

In 2011, K. Rahman Khan had strongly advocated the setting up of interest-free financial institutions.<sup>11</sup> Islamic banking experts argue that the existing banking system is disastrous and it is the main reason why economies are trembling and inflation is going high. On the other hand Islamic bank bans interest and encourages partnership. The High Level Committee on Financial Sector Reform (CFSR) of the Planning Commission of India (2008) headed by Dr. Raghuram Rajan recommended interest-free finance and banking to be introduced in the main banking sector for growth with inclusion and innovation.<sup>12</sup> In the light of above recommendations, the government of India can make necessary legal changes and introduce interest-free banking. This could be introduced in selected cities on an experimental basis. In case of opposition from any quarter to the term Islamic banking, it can be termed as 'interest-free banking' or 'participatory banking' or 'inclusive banking'.

Recent developments indicate of possibility that the RBI and the central government would soon take decision about it. EXIM bank has shown readiness to set up Islamic Development Bank

which would give loan to the private sector of Rs. 100 million dollars.<sup>13</sup> The State Bank of India has already introduced interest-free Sharia Mutual Fund. However, in a surprising move the government has announced that it would not bring Islamic banking in India.

#### SOME SUGGESTIONS

Muslims are mostly engaged in self-employment and home-based industries. To empower them economically, it is necessary to support these areas by ensuring a smooth flow of credit. ASCBs can be directed to open more branches in MCDs. These banks are required to monitor credit flow to minorities in these MCDs, thereby, ensuring that the minorities receive a fair and equitable portion of the credit within the overall target of the PSL. PM's new 15-PP promises that an appropriate percentage of the PSL in all categories will be targeted for the minorities. RBI's master circular of 1 July 2013 also promises that the minority communities receive a fair and equitable proportion of the credit within the overall target of PSL. 15 per cent of the PSL amounts to Rs. 1,75,000 crore. A strict mechanism should be formulated by the RBI to ensure that this amount goes to minorities. NMDFC's share capital should be raised to 20,000 crore. As per the evaluation study, necessary changes can be made in its functioning so that minorities could take maximum benefit. Government should create awareness about various credit schemes through publicity, specially by giving advertisement in Urdu newspapers in the areas largely inhabited by Muslims. A policy should be formulated to enhance the participation of Muslims in micro credit schemes of SIDBI and NABARD. RBI should take strict action against the banks which identify Muslim areas as NGZ. Bringing transparency in reporting of information about SRCs on provision of bank credit could improve the situation. Islamic banking will bring inclusiveness. It can be introduced in big cities by giving some other names like interest-free banking or participatory banking, etc. Muslims' presence at policy formulation level is very low which is affecting their financial inclusion. Government should take steps to appoint Muslims in

adequate number in Niti Ayog (Planning Commission), Ministry of Finance, RBI and other policy formulating bodies.

On community level, visionary members of the community may open more cooperative banks specifically to serve the poor and downtrodden. Strict financial guidelines should be followed to save them from the vices of corruption, etc. Community level awareness campaign can be organized about government schemes.

Concerned activists or individuals are advised to read RBI's master circular on Credit Facilities to Minority Communities issued in July 2013 (No. RPCD.GSSD.BC.No.2/09.10.01/2013-14). It can be googled and printed. Provisions of RTI can be used to collect information about credit given to different SRCs by all types of banks. This act may bring transparency in banking operations. Subsequently, the data can be used to press the banks to maintain equitable share for Muslims in bank credits.

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## Social and Physical Infrastructure

### INTRODUCTION

Social infrastructure is referred to school, health care, water supply, housing, social security, etc., while physical infrastructure to services such as road, transportation, irrigation, bus services, electricity, post and communication, etc. For all round and inclusive development of a region or a nation, presence, accessibility and utility of the social and physical infrastructure by member of all SRCs is necessary. The prime objective of any Welfare State is to improve social infrastructure for creating a sustainable and improved standard of living. Providing social infrastructure is also necessary to meet the basic minimum requirement of the people especially for ensuring higher levels of social justice. Investment in physical infrastructure like roads, irrigation, transportation, etc., enhances agricultural productivity and employment in non-agricultural sectors. This contributes to growth in rural economy and rural employment which ultimately reduces poverty.<sup>1</sup>

In principle, such facilities are open and available to all citizens regardless of their social and religious identities. But ground realities are totally different. As revealed in the SCR, there is an inverse relation between the proportion of Muslims in a locality and the presence of these facilities. While about 82 per cent of small villages with less than 10 per cent Muslims have educational institutions, it decreases to 69 per cent in villages with a substantial Muslim population. In smaller villages, as the share of Muslim population increases one finds a drop in the presence of educational institutions especially primary schools. In larger villages, the availability

of medical facilities falls with the rise of population share of Muslims. Muslims are disadvantaged in access and utilization of these services which is affecting their socio-economic development. Lack of government schools leads to high drop-out and educational backwardness and lack of health facilities, safe drinking water and sanitation lead to malnutrition related disorders, reduced productivity and life-expectancy. Muslims are mostly engaged in home-based industries and self-employment. Lack of road, transportation and communication obstruct them in getting raw material and market for their products, thus, affecting their economic progress.

#### SELECTED CITIES DOMINATED BY MUSLIMS

##### GUJARAT

An Ahmedabad NGO, Sanchetana submitted a memorandum to the Sachar Committee and explained the status of basic services among other issues. According to it, communal holocaust had caused ghettoization in Gujarat with Muslims concentrating in specific areas. But government followed a policy of neglecting those areas by curtailing or stopping sanitation and health facilities. Juhapura and Bombay Hotel areas best personified the policies. It also noted that the government had been following a policy of 'Muslim Free Zone' in Gujarat.<sup>2</sup> Juhapura is home to Ahmedabad's largest Muslim population. It has no basic infrastructure, with even buses not running regularly through it any more.

Population of Juhapura: 4 lakh

Primary schools: 30 (of which 26 are private)

No. of students in four Panchayat primary schools: 2000-2200

High schools: 4 private (grant-in-aid), 1 government

Higher Secondary Schools: 3 private, 1 government

Panchayat schools are in a bad way. Pre-fabricated structures serve as classrooms in some while most of them are over crowded and without furniture. There is not a single college or institute for higher learning, technical education or skill development in the area.<sup>3</sup>

## MAHARASHTRA

The MRC report says,

The data shows that the Muslims not only have issues with geographic proximity of location of facilities, but they also have huge social exclusion in terms of access to these facilities. Educational and health facilities are located away from Muslim localities and due to discrimination, economic inability, lack of motivation etc. Muslims are unable to utilize these facilities effectively. In urban areas about 60 per cent Muslims live in slums. Muslim households are poor served as far as latrine, bathrooms and other civic facilities are concerned. The situation of Muslim households in terms of water supply and electricity is a matter of concern in the state and for that the Committee has recommended quick affirmative action towards amelioration.

*Shivaji Nagar in Mumbai: 'Unwanted in my City'*

Qudsiya Contractor has given vivid description about the formation and the state of neglect of basic facilities in Shivaji Nagar, a predominantly Muslim slum situated at the periphery of Mumbai. The living conditions here are appalling due to proximity to a dumping ground. There is garbage everywhere as far as the eye can see. It has very poor infrastructure and suffers from a complete lack of basic services. The houses are much smaller and separated by congested narrow lanes that gives the entire area a feel of dense, complex labyrinth. If we see the process of formation and construction, it points towards the possible trend of social cleansing, especially of poor urban Muslims (Laurent Gayer & Jaffrelot 2012).

*Byculla in Mumbai: 'City Bypassed'*

A short film produced by Dr. Ayona Datta, an Indian-origin researcher at University of Leeds, UK and titled *City Bypassed* has depicted the condition of basic services in Byculla. Dr. Datta writes, 'Byculla is an inner city neighbourhood in South Mumbai, close to the business district hence facing rapid urban renewal, yet divided along various lines of religion, caste and community'. Byculla has

the highest Muslim population in Mumbai, and has undergone years of negligence and step-motherly treatment.<sup>4</sup>

*Malegaon: 'City Forgotten'*

A report published by the TISS has highlighted the overall condition of Muslims of Malegaon. The research commissioned by the Minorities Development Department and State Minorities Commission says, 'There is less space for living, more for death'. Some Bitter Truth (mentioned in the report): Average household size: 7.2; People living in slums: 76 per cent.

It says Malegaon is very underdeveloped, both economically and infrastructure-wise forcing majority of its population to live in slums and dilapidated small houses. About 76 per cent families live either in dilapidated wood or tin houses or in huts with iron/wooden pillars and tin/plastic roofs with most of the lanes and roads remaining water-logged and full of potholes/ditches. There is dearth of basic amenities and public toilets are not available in most part of the city. There is extreme lack of facilities for schools and colleges especially in municipal schools. A large part of Malegaon looks like any slum of Mumbai in terms of make up and congestion. The city has already been 'ghettoized beyond control' and would be pushed further deep into what seems to be a 'living hell' if suitable measures are not initiated.<sup>5</sup>

Similar situation exists in other cities/towns where Muslims are in dominant numbers. Due to wilful neglect and discriminatory behaviour of municipal authorities Muslim-dominated wards/mohallas are facing huge scarcity of civic amenities like schools, health centres, anganwadi, pucca roads, drainage, water supply and other civic amenities. In the rainy season these areas are full of wet garbage and potholes and remain waterlogged for long periods. Gulshan Colony, Degloor Naka, Haider Bagh and Millat Nagar in Nanded; Rahmat Park, Maniyar Society, Maulavi Ganj, Deopur and Azadnagar in Dhule; Tambapur and other Muslim dominated areas in Jalgaon; some areas in Hingoli, Kalamb Chowk area in Yavatmal in Maharashtra, etc., are facing huge scarcity of basic civic facilities. Muslim councillors do raise the issue in Municipal



Corporations but authorities pay little attention to their demands. Generally we find huge lack of social and physical infrastructure in the states where Muslims share in the population is significant like Bihar, UP, Assam, WB and Jharkhand.

Doctors have observed that Muslims, particularly Muslim women, are more affected from tuberculosis (TB) than other communities. Muslims live in slums and huts consisting of small and dark houses. These houses do not receive sun light and are full of polluted air. This causes TB in the inhabitants of slums. According to the data received from Sewari TB hospital in Mumbai from January to December 2014, 28,417 patients were examined in the OPD of the hospital. Out of which 4,263 were Muslims.<sup>6</sup>

#### ACCESS TO HEALTH CARE CENTRES

According to the SCR almost 2,000 Muslim concentration villages (MCV) in Assam and J&K, more than 3,000 in WB and Bihar, and above 5,000 in UP were without medical facilities. In most of the states, the percentage of MCVs without medical facilities was higher than the proportion of all villages without such facilities. This indicates a bias in creation and providing health facility in MCVs. The Primary Health Centres (PHC) are considered the first health point between communities and a doctor or other medical professionals. Muslims access to healthcare facilities is not satisfactory. See Table 11.1.

About 28 per cent from the Muslim community reported that they had no health care centre in their locality. 32.5 per cent reported that they had PHC or CHC. 15 per cent (14 in rural and 17 in urban areas) further reported that their health care centres were inactive in the locality. Compared to other localities, PHCs are located at a longer distance from the Muslim localities. About 28 per cent reported having a health care centre within 1 to 2 km from their locality; about 23 per cent within 5 km and about 25 per cent reported more than 5 km as the closest healthcare facility. About 63 from Haryana, 45 from HP, 44 in Bihar, 36 in UP, 31 from Rajasthan, 30 from WB, 2 each from TN and MP

TABLE 11.1: TYPE OF HEALTH CARE CENTRES  
AVAILABLE IN MUSLIM LOCALITIES

Type of Health Care Centre	Respondents	Percentage
No response	2,253	27.9
PHC	1,813	22.4
Cluster Health Care Centres (CHC)	813	10.1
Sub-centres	1,629	20.2
Other	1,574	19.5
Total	8,082	100.00

Source: *Broken Promises* (2014).

and 11 per cent from AP reported that the health care centre was more than 5 km from their homes.<sup>7</sup>

Under the MSDP, the centre has started construction of health care centres in MCDs. However, the pace of work is very slow and many MCDs still do not have any such centres. As per the annual report of the MMA of 30 September 2011, the centre had planned to open 2,458 health centres but after three years of MSDP only 834 had been constructed while 785 were under construction. In UP 959 were to be opened in 21 MCDs, but only 429 had been opened. In WB 743 were to be opened, but only 242 had been opened. In 12 MCDs of Assam 98 were to be opened, but only 9 had been constructed. In 7 MCDs of Bihar 160 were to be opened but only 36 had been opened. In 6 MCDs of Manipur, 152 were to be opened, but only 66 had been opened. In 2 MCDs of Karnataka 29 were proposed, but only 3 had been established. In 2 MCDs of Mizoram, 35 were proposed but only 7 had been established. Even after 3 years not a single centre had been constructed in Haryana, Uttarakhand, Maharashtra, A&N Islands, Odisha, Kerala, J&K, Delhi, MP, Sikkim and AP.<sup>8</sup> As per 2013-14 report, published by MMA in 2014, 2,537 centres had been sanctioned, out of which 1,786 constructed and 367 were under construction. Thus 84.9 per cent health centres had either been opened or were under-construction.

## HOUSING CONDITION

House/dwelling is the basic need of an individual or a household and its condition is an indicator of socio-economic condition. Quality of housing determines the quality of life. Housing condition of Muslim community is not satisfactory and it is bad compared to other SRCs. Reasons for bad condition could be: (1) Poverty or poor economic condition; (2) Difficulties in getting houses on rent in urban areas; and (3) Discrimination with Muslims in allotting houses under various government schemes.

There is no much difference in housing condition in rural areas among various SRCs but prominent in urban areas. After Sikhs, Muslims have the highest share in independent houses. This could be an indication of the difficulties or the unwillingness of the Muslim community to join group housing schemes. The share of households living in 'Others' category which may include slums and other type of houses has declined for all SRCs and is the highest for Muslims. After Sikhs, Muslims share in the flat is the lowest.

TABLE 11.2: TYPE OF DWELLINGS BY SRCs  
IN URBAN AREAS

Type of Dwellings	2008-9					
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Others	All
IH*	57.8	60.5	53.8	74.9	46.6	58.1
Flat	25.1	18.1	35.2	15.0	28.3	24.4
Others	17.0	21.3	11.0	10.2	25.1	17.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Type of Dwellings	2012					
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Others	All
IH	46.9	50.9	49.6	66.0	40.0	47.6
Flat	40.0	35.3	42.9	29.4	47.9	39.4
Others	13.1	13.7	7.5	4.6	12.1	12.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: PSEC Report.

Note: \* I.H.: Independent House.

Average floor area of the house is an indicator of socio-economic condition of the inhabitants. Average floor area of the Muslim dwellings were the least in both years, i.e. 2008-9 and 2012. See Table 11.3. Based on ownerships dwellings can be classified as self-owned, hired/rented, no dwellings and dwellings of other categories. Although economic condition of Muslims is weaker than Hindus, 64 per cent of Muslims have their own houses compared to 60.3 of Hindus. This again indicates that Muslims face difficulty in getting houses on rent in urban property market which compels them to become owner despite their having lower affordability.

Muslims have also not been benefited from various government-run housing schemes. The government should start housing projects in Muslim-dominated areas and also declare Low Income Group (LIG) and Middle Income Group (MIG) housing projects in Muslim mohallas. Seeing their pathetic condition, the then vice-chairman of the Maharashtra Minorities Commission, Abraham Mathai had demanded reservation for minorities in the houses constructed by government in Mumbai. Giving reference of the PM 15-PP, he wrote a letter to then CM in 2011 demanding 10 to 15 per cent reservation for minorities in such projects.<sup>9</sup>

## SLUM AREAS

Slums have become a regular feature of big Indian cities. Although India is progressing economically, the number of people living in slums is increasing with the rise in population. As per 2011 Census,

TABLE 11.3: AVERAGE FLOOR AREA BY SRCs

(in sq ft)

SRCs/Year	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Others	All
2008-9	431.7	385.86	457.59	644.10	487.47	429.93
2012	419.14	387.17	532.11	634.87	466.51	421.97

Source: PSEC Report.

6.5 crore people were living in slums. As per a report prepared by the Working Group on Urban Poverty, Slums And Service Delivery System in 2011, 100.79 million people would live in slums in 2015 which is expected to rise to 104.67 million by 2017. Maharashtra accounts for almost 20 per cent. Maharashtra, UP, TN, WB and AP accounts for 58 per cent of the total people living in slums (*The Indian Express*, 30 May 2015). Slums are neglected by the municipal authorities. There is no proper provision of water, electricity, toilet and drainage facilities. Sun rays do not enter in narrow lanes of slums and dirt and garbage are found scattered everywhere. These slums are basically not fit for human living.<sup>10</sup>

Majority of slum dwellers belong to Muslim, SC, ST and lower OBC group who are economically poor and cannot afford good houses in big cities. Even within slums that have mixed population, Muslims often face gross discrimination which even the SCs/STs do not face. Places which have domination of Muslim have been highly neglected by state authorities. The CPS, in a survey 'Broken Promises' has produced a comparative analysis of two slums in Bengaluru – one dominated by Muslims and the other by Hindus. It clearly shows that the presence of basic services is far better in slums dominated by Hindus than by Muslims.

As per the UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing, as a component of the Right to Adequate Standard of Living, adequate housing has been defined as 'the human right of every human, woman, man, youth and child to gain and sustain a safe and secure home and community in which to live in peace and dignity'. As per this, most of the slums especially where Muslims are in dominant numbers, are inadequate housing. But when it comes to Muslims one more disability is added. Harassment of Muslims in slum areas by police is a common phenomenon. In case of bomb blasts anywhere in the country, youths from Mumbai slums are picked up and framed in these cases. Combing operations are done by police, especially in Mumbai and Thane slums and Muslims youths are arrested in large numbers on mere suspicion.

To improve basic services in slum areas, the state as well the centre should start slum-rehabilitation schemes. By these schemes

living conditions would improve and ample space will also be available for commercial activity. One noticeable feature is that slums are located in the middle of the city where the price of the land is very high. Whenever slum re-development projects are planned, lot of politics start and finally these projects stuck up. It is recommended that proper survey should be done and before projects of re-development government should take into confidence all political parties and stake holders.

### GOVERNMENT SCHEMES

#### INDIRA AAWAS YOJNA (IAY)

The PM's 15-PP aims to improve the condition of living by providing certain proportion of houses to minorities under IAY. Available data shows that financial as well as physical achievements have been quite moderate and thus not satisfactory. See Table 11.4.

Financial achievement was initially low at 6.5 per cent that rose to the highest in 2008-9 and dropped to 74.8 per cent in 2012-13. In recent times almost all states have been utilizing funds under IAY in MCDs. Physical achievement has risen but recently dropped. It has been found that among the states Bihar, WB, UP and Jharkhand have been major beneficiaries as sizeable number of houses have gone to minorities of these states. Muslims have not benefited much from this scheme. In 2012-13, achievement of physical target in MCDs of Maharashtra was only 39.3 per cent. In 2013, quoting figures of housing schemes in four MCDs of Maharashtra, Asaduddin Owaisi alleged that the target of the schemes was 11,670 houses, out of which 3,265 were built and only 20 per cent were allotted to Muslims.<sup>11</sup> Aurangabad district in Maharashtra has sizeable Muslim population. In 2014-15, 3,606 houses under IAY were constructed in the district and only 236 (6.5 per cent) were allotted to Muslims.<sup>12</sup> WB has around 26 per cent Muslim population in the state. A report released by the state government in 2013 shows that 6,161 dwelling units were given to the minorities in 2012-13, which accounts for only 11.7 per cent of the total 52,591 beneficiaries across the state.<sup>13</sup>

TABLE 11.4: PERFORMANCE OF IAY

Year	Financial Achievement		Physical Achievement	
	Fund spent (in crore)	%	In number	%
2006-7	37.74	6.5	1,4236	6.2
2007-8	443.06	55.1	1,55,980	48.9
2008-9	1,046.85	92.8	3,85,275	120.7
2009-10	1,459.68	68.0	5,43,413	89.4
2010-11	1,692.20	86.3	4,26,255	98.4
2011-12	1,333.60	72.1	3,78,907	93.4
2012-13	1,533.62	74.8	3,61,912	80.8

*Source:* PSEC Report.

#### JAWAHARLAL NEHRU NATIONAL URBAN RENEWAL MISSION (JNNURM)

Indian cities, host to about 30 per cent of the population, contribute 50 to 55 per cent of the GDP. Most of the cities and towns are severely stressed in terms of basic services and infrastructure. The central government has launched JNNURM which aims to encourage cities to initiate steps to bring about improvement in the existing service levels in a financially sustainable manner. It is created to support: (1) Water supply including setting up of desalination plants, sewerage and sanitation; (2) Solid-waste management including hospital waste management; (3) Construction and improvement of drains and storm-water drainage system; (4) Road network; (5) Urban transport; (6) Construction and development of bus and truck terminals; (7) Renewal and re-development of inner city areas, development of heritage areas; (8) Preservation of water bodies; (9) Integrated development of slums; (10) Provision of basic services to the urban poor; and (11) Street lighting.

It consists of two submissions – Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP) and Integrated Housing and Slum Development Programme (IHSDP). Field experience shows that areas dominated by Muslims have been totally neglected under these submissions. On national level, more than 20 per cent of total fund allocated

TABLE 11.5: FLOW OF FUNDS UNDER BSUP AND IHSDP

Year	BSUP		IHSDP	
	Total Project Cost (in crore)	% Allocation to Minority Areas	Total Project Cost (in crore)	% Allocation to Minority Areas
2007-8	17,421.11	36.6	4,009.90	20.7
2008-9	25,251.00	20.7	8,401.2	19.8
2009-10	26,651.10	20.9	9,422.8	18.8
2010-11	5,288.80	133.80	10,023.8	19.2
2011-12	28,972.10	24.8	10,959.4	17.9
2012-13	29,770.40	24.4	11,936.1	18.7

Source: PSEC Report (2014).

under these missions have gone to the towns and cities with substantial minority population (SMP). See Table 11.5.

Although more than 20 per cent of the total allocation of these two submissions have been given to minority areas, the claim could not be validated as disaggregated data is not available. Community activists, based on field visits, report that minority areas have been totally left out from these two projects.

#### URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE AND GOVERNANCE (UIG)

UIG programmes aim to create infrastructure in urban areas. Close to 13 per cent amount of the total project cost has been invested in towns/cities with SMP. Data shows that only few states have utilized fund under it in cities/towns with SMP. Among the states, UP almost used 45 per cent of total amount invested in cities and towns with SMP under it.

#### URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT SCHEME FOR SMALL & MEDIUM TOWNS (UIDSSMT)

UIDSSMT is another important scheme for the development of small and medium towns. Share of allocation in areas with SMP in this project has been around 18 per cent. Allocations under it are far less than the share of minority population in areas with SMP.



Fourteen states have been identified for this scheme. Maharashtra has been a major gainer under it where in the last three years (2010-11 to 2012-13) maximum allocation has gone. See Table 11.6.

Average allocation under UIGP and UIDSSMT is at 14.55 and 18.06 per cent in areas with SMP. Whether Muslim areas have been benefited from these projects, is yet to be ascertained. On state level, there has been no uniform pattern of allocation under the 15 PP for strengthening of infrastructure in areas with SMP.

Haryana constituted the Mewat Development Agency (MDA) for the development of Mewat. In 2008, the state approved Rs. 77 crore for Mewat where according to 2001 census, Muslims called Meos, in some pockets, are more than 70 per cent of the population. The government declared that the fund would be used for infrastructure and skill development. UP and Bihar have started making boundary walls around Muslim graveyards. In Maharashtra, the Minority Development Department allocated Rs. 22.32 crore and gave it to 201 Municipal Corporations/Nagar Palikas for construction of boundary walls of graveyards, roads and other basic services in areas with SMP in 2011-12.

## SOME IMPORTANT INITIATIVES

### MULTI-SPECIALTY HOSPITAL IN MUMBRA

Mumbra-Kosa in Thane has 8 to 9 lakh population, mostly Muslims of lower-middle class background. It does not have any good hospital. Local MLA Jitendra Avhad and Muslim corporators have been making tireless effort for a big hospital. After 4 years of consistent effort, the government announced a 100 bed hospital with all modern facilities in Mumbra. A fund of Rs. 67 crore was announced by the state and construction has already started. Similar efforts can be made in other Muslim pockets of India.<sup>14</sup>

### AN EFFORT IN OKHLA

Okhla, a Muslim-dominated area situated in South Delhi, has a dense population of more than one million without basic facilities

TABLE 11.6: ALLOCATION TO MINORITY AREAS UNDER UIGP AND UIDSSMT

Year	UIGP			UIDSSMT		
	Total Allocation (crore)	Allocation to Minority Areas (crore)	% Allocation to Minority Areas	Total Allocation (crore)	Allocation to Minority Areas (crore)	% Allocation to Minority Areas
2009-10	58,283.3	8,623.66	14.8	12,824.63	2,533.16	19.75
2010-11	60,528.99	8,344.93	13.78	12,933.04	2,624.80	20.30
2011-12	60,718.15	9,049.09	14.90	13,565.17	1,838.99	13.56
2012-13	61,806.52	9,097.24	14.71	14,020.96	2,642.19	18.85
Total	2,41,336.96	35,114.92	14.55	53,343.80	9,639.14	18.06

Source: Ministry of Urban Development.

of health and education. A group of AMU alumni led by Perwez Mohammad, Mohammed Aslam and Nehal Ahmad Siddiqui wrote a letter in 2013 to the then Central Ministries to establish two Kendriya Vidyalayas (KV) and a well equipped hospital in Okhla. After receiving the letter, the Department of School Education & Literacy of the MHRD wrote a letter to the Commissioner of Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan (KVS) to open at least two KVs in the region. On this, the KVS wrote a letter to the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) demanding 4 acres of land situated in Okhla for opening a KV for girls of the area.<sup>15</sup> The AMU alumni had planned to meet the Lt. Governor and Chairman of the DDA for transferring the land. Although these two facilities have not come up, but things had started rolling in the right direction.

#### IICC CENTRE IN OTHER CITIES

India Islamic Cultural Centre (IICC) situated on Lodhi Road in New Delhi, has become a symbol of Indian Muslims. Spread over 2.5 acre, with more than 3,500 members on board from across India, it is now a socio-political centre where Muslim leaders and intellectuals deliberate on current issues related to the community. It has sent proposals to Bihar and Rajasthan government to allot land for its sub-centres at Patna and Jaipur. There is no much development as land is not allotted so far. In October 2013, the then Deputy CM of Maharashtra, Ajit Pawar announced that India's second world-class Islamic Cultural Centre would come up in Mumbra in Thane. It would be modelled after the IICC in New Delhi and would come up at a cost of Rs. 25 crore. It was also announced that besides the centre a new ITI, a technical college and a girls' hostel for Muslim students would be started there.<sup>16</sup> It was hoped that Muslims of Maharashtra would get a platform and a central place where political leaders and intellectuals could meet and discuss the issues pertaining to Muslims.

IICC, New Delhi wants to establish similar centres in Hyderabad, Kolkata, Chennai, Bengaluru, Patna and other important cities. Farsighted Muslim leaders had got the land of IICC allotted by Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1984. Without the government land such

centre can not be established. Muslim political leaders can use their political strength and get the land allotted in these cities. This will certainly contribute towards Muslim empowerment.

#### A GIRL'S TRENDSETTING INITIATIVE

Maimoona Khan who was in class IX in 2014, lives in a small village in Narsinghpur district of MP. Her village had no road connectivity with the city till July 2014. For children it had been tough to go to school and for sick people it had been more difficult especially in the rainy season. People of the village had been demanding a good connecting road, but their demand was not heard. One day Maimoona wrote a letter to the CM of MP, Shivraj Singh Chauhan, who terms himself as *Mama* (uncle) of children, especially girls. Her first letter elicited no response. Then she wrote the second and third letter. The third letter came before the CM and he took that seriously. Plan was made and under a development scheme, funds were sanctioned and the road was constructed. The villagers were surprised and very happy as the efforts of the politically connected people had failed to get the road constructed.

She had taken her father's permission before writing the letter.<sup>17</sup> Highlighting the problems faced by villages or towns before concerned officials is the first step for development. In democracy, from the lowest level officer to the CM, all are accountable to the public. One should not feel hesitation in highlighting genuine problem to the concerned public servants. Her bold and unique initiative will always be remembered.

#### BHENDI BAZAAR RE-DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

Bhendi Bazaar, a Muslim-dominated area situated in south Mumbai, has come a long way in terms of socio-economic and cultural evolution and has now become a big business centre which has 1,250 commercial establishments spread over 16.5 acres. Once considered among India's best shopping destinations, it is now crumbling, posing a serious hazard to the residents. Eighty per cent of the buildings are unsafe for living.

More than 50 per cent of the commercial establishments are owned by Dawoodi Bohras – one of the oldest mercantile communities. Known for their business acumen, they have made tremendous progress in the area. Besides, the world famous Raudat Tahera, the mausoleum of Syedna Taher Saifuddin is situated there. Realizing the economic potential, former head of the Dawoodi Bohra community, Dr. Syedna Mohammad Burhanuddin visualized the redevelopment plan which would cost Rs. 3,000 crore, and is being undertaken by the Mumbai-based Saifee Burhani Upliftment Trust (SBUT). With 54.55 per cent ground coverage post-development, it would provide commercial and residential facilities. While all religious and cultural architectures situated in the vicinity are to be retained, all residents would also be relocated back in the locality. Thus the redevelopment would retain the essence of traditional bazaar as well as provide a modern business environment.<sup>18</sup>

In all big Indian cities, residential and commercial areas of Muslims are centrally located. They are facing huge scarcity of infrastructural and civic facilities and these places have become almost stagnant economically. If these areas are re-developed in a similar manner as that of Bhendi Bazaar, it would create good infrastructure and commercial activity would go up that can contribute to economic development of Muslims. Big business houses and Muslims involved in construction work can take the lead.

#### SOME SUGGESTIONS

The presence, accessibility and utilization of physical and social infrastructures by Muslims is very poor. This imbalance needs to be addressed by initiating specific policy initiatives for Muslim areas. The Government of India has launched projects for strengthening the infrastructure to attract FDI. Twenty per cent work of these projects should go to the areas dominated by minorities. Government is required to develop health infrastructure with modern facilities in Muslim areas which will improve the general health and develop good human capital for the country's development. In government-run housing schemes 20 per cent of the houses should be reserved for minorities. This will create mixed housing

locality that in turn would contribute towards social cohesion and communal harmony. Government is required to devise a policy so that representation of Muslims in Municipal Corporations, Nagar-palikas and Gram Panchayats could be increased. These members highlight the issues and take follow up to get the basic services installed. Lack of basic facilities in Muslim areas impact the entire population living in that locality. For example, if a Muslim concentration village does not have a school or pucca approach road, then members of other SRCs of that village are at an equal disadvantage as they too are bereft of these facilities. Therefore, the government is advised to provide basic facilities and infrastructure which is in the overall interest of India and not of Muslims alone.

On community level, Civil Society Organizations, NGOs, etc., and representatives of local bodies are required to bring to the notice of concerned authorities the pathetic condition of basic services in Muslim areas. They should take follow-up regularly and fight for it on proper forums as nothing comes without struggle. Service providers and government authorities have inherent biases and show resistance to reach out to the Muslims. Muslim bodies are required to sensitize them and clear their misunderstanding by meeting them on regular basis and by organizing programmes and inviting them as chief guests. Jitendra Avhad, MLA of Mumbra in Maharashtra, has set an example by constructing 80 per cent of the roads in his area, a stadium, an ITI and many other basic services. All this has been possible due to his keen interest and continuous follow up. There is no dearth of resources in the community. The rich are suggested to open big hospitals with modern facilities in Muslim clusters. Saifee Hospital in Mumbai, Inamdar Hospital in Pune, Haji Abdur Razzaque Ansari Memorial Medanta Hospital in Ranchi, Umrao Hospital in Thane, Owaisi Hospital in Hyderabad, etc., are super specialty hospitals successfully run by the visionary members of the community. Such type of hospitals may be opened in other Muslim dominated areas by applying the expertise and managerial skills of these hospitals. Similarly, housing projects of low cost house can be initiated for poor Muslims and slums can be redeveloped by reputed builders of the community.

Many things can be initiated on the individual level. Officials

including the CM of a state are accountable to public in a democratic set up. One should not hesitate to highlight the local issues before public servants. The example set by Maimoona Khan can be applied at other places in India. RTI can be effectively used here. Information pertaining to number of projects, funds allocated, number of projects being implemented in areas with Muslim domination can be gathered and in case of discrimination, issues can be highlighted on proper forum in coordination with political parties. Individuals and activists can pressurize the public officials to give equal treatment to Muslim areas.

Developmental as well as infrastructural deficits faced by Muslims are not only their problems but national problems. If concerns of Muslims are treated as national problems, then it would be easy for the government to formulate policy initiatives. Not only Muslims but whole country will benefit from it. Not providing basic facilities is a gross violation of human rights.

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## Poverty, Consumption and Standards of Living

### INTRODUCTION

Incidence of poverty, i.e. share of population below poverty line, level of consumption and standards of living are major indicators of socio-economic condition of a social group. The SCR says that Muslims face high level of poverty and their condition on the whole are only slightly better than those of SCs/STs. Muslims face much higher relative deprivation in urban areas compared to rural. Their situation in rural areas is somewhat better but here again in most states Muslim poverty is higher than all SRCs, except SCs and STs. Consumption level in Muslims is better than SCs and STs but worse than all other SRCs. Living standards of Muslims as regards availability of potable drinking water, bathroom and latrine facility, electricity and drainage facility are poor.

Poverty influences consumption level and conditions of living. The rich have easy access to basic services. Absolute poverty is defined as the lack of minimum food and shelter necessary for maintaining a decent life. Whereas relative poverty is defined as the proportion of population living below a defined poverty line. There are many causes and consequences of poverty. Causes of poverty are: Unemployment or having a poor quality job; Low level of education and skills; Size and type of family; Social and gender discrimination; Disability or ill-health; Being a member of minority ethnic groups and immigrants/undocumented migrants; Living in a remote or disadvantaged community; and Low participation in trade and industry. There are many consequences of poverty: Low standard of living; Education especially higher edu-

cation is affected; Lack of access to health and health care services; Malnutrition in children; Low quality of human capital; Impact on national economy; and Increased crime rate.<sup>1</sup>

Poverty has far-reaching consequences on society. The poor feel negative, inferior, passive, hopeless and powerless. Too much poverty is not healthy for a rising economy and also not good for the stability in a society. For a country like India reduction in poverty and inclusive growth would be helpful for its economic development. Though economic growth has trickled down to SCs, STs and Muslims, they have not made much progress. Dr. Santosh Mehrotra says, 'In real terms, employment, ownership of assets, access to health and education leave India's Muslims, SCs and STs far behind national averages'.<sup>2</sup>

#### CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE

Monthly Per Capita Expenditure (MPCE) is a key indicator of economic well-being of a family or a social group. It is also a measure of relative poverty and indicates the strength to spend. The NSSO consumer expenditure survey generates estimates of household MPCE and its distribution. These indicators give clear picture about the prevalence of poverty in a household. See Table 12.1.

In rural areas STs have the least MPCE followed by SCs and Muslims. This trend has remained constant over past two decades as well as in the post-Sachar era. Muslim's MPCE, as per 2011-12 estimate, is lower than the national average and around 90 per cent of it. Relatively higher MPCE of Muslims in rural areas is attributed to their engagement in self-employment and service sectors. Differentials in MPCE across various SRCs in rural area is low. In urban areas MPCE of Muslims is the least followed by SCs and then STs. This is really shocking and needs attention of policy makers. Condition of Muslim OBCs in urban areas is even worse.

When we move from rural to urban areas and further to million plus cities, the MPCE shows upward trend for an SRC. However, one would infer that Muslims in general do not benefit much by shifting to urban areas unlike SCs, STs and Hindu-OBCs. The

TABLE 12.1: MPCE FOR ALL SRCs AT CONSTANT PRICE  
(1987-8 = 100)

	2004-5				2011-12			
	Rural	Urban Million plus	Other Urban areas	Urban	Rural	Urban Million plus	Other Urban areas	Urban
H-ST	134.1	362.4	218.5	251.6	167.1	430.3	283.5	320.4
H-SC	152.6	275.6	215.1	231.7	192.6	350.9	284.2	305.1
H-OBC	177.6	340.3	268.8	282.5	221.9	470.8	340.5	371.6
H-Others	231.5	527.7	383.6	434.7	275.3	681.5	480.2	556.4
H-All	178.2	430.9	300.9	336.9	218.8	549.6	377.2	429.9
M-OBC	180.7	254.1	203.2	209.1	214.3	319.6	259.4	273.9
M-Others	168.3	331.7	218.6	255.9	201.3	390.4	285.0	322.1
M-All	173.2	317.8	211.7	237.9	207.9	361.0	271.0	297.6
OMs	258.1	555.3	387.0	439.5	319.3	639.5	484.5	527.4
All	181.6	422.6	290.6	326.8	221.9	523.6	365.8	413.5

*Source:* Prepared from the PSEC Report.

gaps between the MPCE of Muslims and other SRCs, particularly UCH have gone up.

For all SRCs, the economic well-being and quality of life is better in towns/cities compared to in rural areas. It is even better in big cities and metros. However, mobility from rural areas to small towns and from towns/cities to metropolitan cities has not benefited all SRCs equally and evenly. The ratio of urban to rural MPCE is the highest for UCHs, indicating that they have gained maximum benefit due to rural-urban movement. The lowest ratio is recorded in case of Muslims which indicates that they have gained the lowest benefit from such movement. Differentials in MPCE over the years is a good indicator of economic progress. All SRCs have shown growth in MPCE over the years from 2004-5 to 2009-10 and from 2004-5 to 2011-12.

Growth in MPCE over the years is recorded for all SRCs. In case of Muslims it cannot be attributed to implementation of special schemes by the government as all SRCs have recorded growth. Increase in MPCE is the highest for UCH in all three types of settlements – rural, urban and other urban compared to all SRCs.

The increase is the least for Muslims in all settlements. It is shocking to note that the increase in case of million plus cities for Muslims is less than half compared to the national average and about a fourth of UCH.

Household MPCE serves as a proxy for income and is usually taken to reflect standard of living of an SRC. According to NSSO 2009-10, average MPCE of Sikh households was Rs. 1,659, while that of Muslim household Rs. 980. According to that survey, Sikh households were the country's biggest spenders and Muslim households the smallest.<sup>3</sup> This trend is continuing even today with some minor alteration in the MPCE of different SRCs.

## POVERTY ESTIMATES

Due to weak socio-economic condition and very low participation in government and PSU employment, incidence of poverty among Muslims is high. Government, generally, has admitted that Muslims in India have the highest poverty rate reflecting that programmes and policies designed for them are not bearing much fruit. The Planning Commission released the data on poverty estimated of 2009-10 on 19 March 2012. The figure indicated that Muslims were more backward as compared to other minorities in UP, Bihar, Gujarat, Rajasthan and WB. It claimed that the number of poor Indian – both in rural and urban areas – had declined substantially between 2004-5 and 2009-10. See Table 12.2.

Muslims poverty in urban area was 33.9 per cent, well above national average and highest among all SRCs. Urban poverty was 34.1 in SC, 30.4 in ST and 24.3 per cent in Hindu-OBC. Mus-

TABLE 12.2: DECLINE IN POVERTY: 2004-5 TO 2009-10

Region	2004-5	2009-10	Decline
Rural	41.8	33.8	8.0
Urban	25.7	20.9	4.8
Total	37.2	29.8	7.4

*Source:* The Planning Commission, 2012.

lms urban poverty was 29.5 in Rajasthan, 34.9 in WB, 42.4 in Gujarat, 56.5 in Bihar and 49.5 per cent in UP. In rural areas also Muslims had high incidence of poverty. Muslims rural poverty was 53.6 in Assam, 34.4 in WB, 31.4 in Gujarat and 44.4 per cent in UP. In rural areas Sikh had the lowest poverty rate at 11.9 per cent. Muslim community has not benefited from the decline as poverty was high in urban and rural areas.<sup>4</sup>

Recent estimate released by the PC is based on NSSO 68th round (2011-12) survey which used Tendulkar methodology to estimate poverty. As per this, for 2011-12, the national poverty line for rural areas was Rs. 816 and for urban areas Rs. 1,000 per capita per month. Thus, all India poverty line in terms of consumption expenditure for a family of five was Rs. 4,080 per month in rural areas and 5,000 in urban areas. Thus, the poverty line in urban area was Rs. 33.33 per day per capita and Rs. 27.20 per day per capita in rural area. The poverty rate has dropped by over three times since 2004-5 if compared with 2011-12. Poverty rate is the highest in Chhattisgarh and the least in Goa.<sup>5</sup> See Table 12.3.

Poverty among Muslims in rural areas in both the years, i.e. 2004-5 and 2011-12 was above the national average. It was significantly higher than the UCH and ORGs but less than SCs/STs. In urban areas Muslims are the poorest community. Poverty among Muslims is well above national average and even higher than SC/ST in both years.

In urban areas, the poverty among OBC Muslims is four times higher than of the UCH and ORGs. This is shocking. The percentage of poor among Muslim OBC is higher than Hindu OBC by 50 per cent in rural and by 100 per cent in urban areas. The economic condition of OBC Muslims is thus worsening in comparison to their counterparts among Hindus. The rate of poverty reduction for urban Muslims is similar to the national average and other SRCs. The inequality analysis with Gini Co-efficient shows that Muslims have slightly lower Gini Co-efficient compared to other SRCs in urban areas. The co-efficient is higher for UCH due to unequal distribution of resources.

According to a report of the UNDP of February 2013, percentage of poverty among Muslims is very high in states of Assam, UP,

TABLE 12.3: POVERTY ESTIMATES AND GINI CO-EFFICIENT (GC) FOR SRCs

SRCs	Rural Areas				Urban Areas			
	2004-5		2011-12		2004-5		2011-12	
	% of poor	GC	% of poor	GC	% of poor	GC	% of poor	GC
H-ST	65.2	24.3	44.8	25.2	40.4	35.0	27.3	36.8
H-SC	53.8	23.6	33.8	26.1	40.7	29.9	21.8	31.8
H-OBC	41.0	25.7	23.2	27.1	28.2	32.5	13.9	34.3
UCH	21.6	29.1	12.3	29.1	9.9	34.7	4.8	37.1
M-OBC	45.2	29.4	30.8	29.1	49.1	29.5	26.5	31.2
M-Others	42.9	23.5	25.4	24.2	39.4	34.1	19.3	33.6
ORGs	24.3	34.0	11.1	33.4	12.9	36.0	7.1	38.7
All	41.8	28.1	25.7	28.7	25.7	36.4	13.7	37.7

Source: Prepared from the PSEC Report (2014).

Note: ORGs: Other Religious Groups.

WB and Gujarat.<sup>6</sup> As per the MRC Report, the percentage of Muslims in BPL was 59.4 in urban and 59.8 per cent in rural areas in Maharashtra.<sup>7</sup> As per a study by New Delhi-based CRDDP, Muslims are the most deprived social group in Gujarat. The excerpts from the study is:

Poverty amongst the urban Muslims is eight times (800 per cent) more than UCH, about 50 per cent more than the Hindu-OBCs and the SCs/STs. Note that over 60 per cent of all Gujarati Muslims live in urban areas and they are most deprived social group in Gujarat. On the other hand rural poverty amongst the Muslims is two times (200 per cent) more than UCH. Gujarat unlike a few other large states has not provided any special quota in employment and higher education for Muslims. While Muslims have bank accounts proportionate to the size of the population, the bank loan amount outstanding which is an indicator of financial inclusion is 2.6 per cent.<sup>8</sup>

Halving the number of people living in abject poverty by 2015 was one of the key targets of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). This was to be achieved by 2015 but a UN report says that the target has already been achieved in 2010. It says if the

current pace of poverty reduction in India continues, the number of poor in 2015 would be half of what it was in 1990.<sup>9</sup> However, poverty reduction rate for Muslims is the modest.

Muslim dominated towns and cities are more poor. As per a report prepared by the TISS and submitted to the Minorities Commission of Maharashtra in 2011, Muslims of Malegaon were facing high level of poverty and also high poverty induced deaths.

Muslims below poverty line: 56.5 per cent

Average monthly income: Less than Rs. 911

Per capita income of 1/3rd population: Less than Rs. 500

About 45.4 per cent of total recorded deaths among Muslims had been of children aged below five years. It concluded that those deaths were mainly linked to poverty. Looking at the death cases since 2001, it said nearly 90 per cent deaths of infants below one month, 50 per cent of deaths in the age group of 2-12 months and majority of deaths in the age group of 6-14 years were due to chronic underweight and malnutrition which is the major consequence of poverty. Poverty is affecting the health of Muslims.<sup>10</sup>

### *Share of Beggars*

Acute poverty pushes a person to begging to support his livelihood. Proportion of beggars in Muslims population is high compared to other SRCs. Begging indicates destitution and beggars are looked down in the society. Although people show them sympathy but they are not treated with dignity. See Table 12.4.

Although Muslims make up 14.23 per cent of the national population, their share in the total number of beggars (3,72,217) is 24.9 per cent. This means every fourth person categorized as beggar is a Muslim. On national level, 53.12 per cent male and 46.87 per cent female are engaged in begging while same share in Muslims is 43.6 and 56.4 per cent respectively. This means that there are more Muslim women beggars compared to men. The government should start rehabilitation schemes for beggars otherwise they may be criminalized or may suffer from mental illness.

TABLE 12.4: DISTRIBUTION OF BEGGARS POPULATION

SRCs	Male	Female	Total	Share in Beggar Population	Share in National Population
Hindu	1,51,343	1,17,494	2,68,837	72.2	79.80
Muslim	40,454	52,306	92,760	24.9	14.23
Christian	1,693	1,610	3,303	0.88	2.30
Sikh	1,078	599	1,677	0.45	1.72
Buddhist	1,048	915	1,963	0.52	0.70
Jain	128	113	241	0.06	0.37
Others	553	573	1,126	0.30	0.66
Not Known	1,428	882	2,310	0.62	0.24
Total	1,97,725	1,74,492	3,72,217	100.00	100.00

Source: Census of India, 2011 (*The Indian Express*, Pune, 29 July 2016).

## LIVING STANDARDS

On the basis of housing condition, availability of drinking water, bathroom, latrines and drainage facilities and provision of garbage collection, the living standards of a household or a community is determined. Housing conditions has already been covered in the previous chapter, other factors will be discussed here.

### DRINKING WATER FACILITY

Tap water is the main source of drinking water. In 2012, 63.7 per cent Muslims had tap water which was the lowest among all SRCs. Use of bottled water has been increasing over the years specially in housing societies of big towns. At 1.2 per cent the lowest proportion of Muslims had the bottled water as drinking water in 2008-9. Use of bottled water has increased from 2008-9 to 2012, still it is low among Muslims. See Table 12.5.

### LATRINE FACILITY

Latrine facility is one of the major determinants of health and hygiene of a household or a social group. It is also linked with economic prosperity. See Table 12.6.



TABLE 12.5: SOURCES OF DRINKING WATER ALL SRCs

Source of Water	2008-9					
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Others	All
Bottled water	2.9	1.2	4.8	1.4	1.3	2.7
Tap	75.1	67.9	71.6	80.7	87.4	74.3
Well/tubewell/	19.9	28.1	19.6	17.9	10.5	20.8
Hand pump						
Pond/river/spring/ rainwater	0.3	0.3	2.4	0.0	0.2	0.4
Others	1.9	2.5	1.6	0.0	0.5	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Source of Water	2012					
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Others	All
Bottled water	5.7	2.3	9.2	0.6	1.1	5.2
Tap	69.7	63.7	70.2	67.0	77.8	69.1
Well/tubewell/	22.0	31.2	17.5	32.4	20.8	23.2
Hand pump						
Pond/river/spring/ rainwater	0.1	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.1	0.1
Others	2.5	2.6	2.5	0.0	0.3	2.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Source:* Prepared from the PSEC Report (2014).

Muslims have the lowest proportion of population where a latrine facility exists for exclusive use of the household in both the years. With 28.2 in 2008-9 and 22.0 per cent in 2012, they have the highest proportion of population using latrine facility on sharing basis with other households. The reduction is much smaller for Muslim households and their figure stands marginally above the national average in 2012. Similarly, condition of Muslims as regards bathroom facilities is not good.

#### DRAINAGE FACILITY

Availability of modern drainage facility is also a major determinant of health and hygiene of an individual, a household or an SRC. It

TABLE 12.6: LATRINE FACILITIES AMONG SRCs

Latrine Facility	2008-9					
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Others	All
Exclusive use of the household	58.3	52.7	64.5	81.0	59.6	58.1
Shared with other households	23.6	28.2	27.6	12.2	20.6	24.1
Public/community latrine	6.3	8.3	2.8	1.5	12.9	6.5
Other type	—	—	—	—	—	—
No latrine	11.8	10.9	5.0	5.3	6.9	11.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Latrine Facility	2012					
	Hindu	Muslim	Christian	Sikh	Others	All
Exclusive use of the household	63.2	62.4	73.5	82.5	69.0	63.9
Shared with other households	21.9	22.0	18.0	13.5	17.5	21.6
Public/community latrine	5.1	6.5	3.9	0.5	5.4	5.2
Other type	0.6	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.6
No latrine	9.2	8.5	4.2	3.4	8.0	8.8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Prepared from the PSEC Report (2014).

is also linked with economic progress and concern of the government in providing civic services to its citizens. While the proportion of Muslim households using underground and covered pucca drainage facility is low compared to most of other SRCs and national average, their share is high in open pucca and open kutcha drainage. It also indicates to the discrimination with Muslim-dominated areas and neglect by municipal authorities.

#### GARBAGE COLLECTION FACILITY

Garbage collection and its proper disposal is also linked with the health and hygiene of households and residents of a particular locality. In 2008-9, 25.1 per cent Muslims had no arrangement

for garbage collection which was the highest only next to that of Christians. In 2012, 29.4 per cent of Muslims had no arrangement for garbage collection which was well above the national average and the highest among all SRCs. Proportion of population of all SRCs having no arrangement for garbage collection has gone up for all SRCs and increase is the highest for Muslims.

#### LEGAL ELECTRICITY CONNECTION

Census data suggests that use of electricity as a source of light is less in Muslims as compared to national average and most of the SRCs. There is an inverse relation between the share of Muslim population in a village and the proportion of electricity connections. This also means that Muslim dominated villages have been left out or completely ignored from the schemes of electrification. See Table 12.7. Muslim households are less electrified and have very less proportion of population compared to other SRCs as far as legal electricity connection is concerned. An advertisement released by the UPA-II in February 2014 said that power generation increased by 3,24,316 million units in the previous 9 years. Annual capacity addition increased from 3,948 MW in 2004-5 to 20,660 MW during 2012-13. Per capita electricity consumption increased from 559 to 813 KWh. More than two crore BPL households got free electricity connection.<sup>11</sup> If these figures are believed and compared with the level of electricity connection in Muslims, it

TABLE 12.7: RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION 'DO YOU HAVE A LEGAL ELECTRICITY CONNECTION AT HOME?'

Responses	Muslim Respondents	% of Muslims	% of Other SRCs
No Response	565	7.0	—
Yes	5,640	69.8	81.6
No	1,877	23.2	15.2
Total	8,082	100.0	—

Source: *Broken Promises* (2014).

is clearly said that Muslims villages/settlements have been ignored from electrification drives.

Access to electricity, water, toilets and sanitation has improved on the national level in the four-year period up to 2012. But worryingly, nearly 60 per cent of the rural households continued to have no access to latrines till 2012.<sup>12</sup> As per an independent examination by the PC, nearly 73 per cent households in rural India practised open defecation, despite sanitation drives launched by the government. Unavailability of toilets was the main reason for the huge percentage of the households still practising open defecation.<sup>13</sup> Availability of toilets is vital for rural and urban sanitation. It is also necessary for maintaining the privacy and decency of women living in rural areas because absence of toilets are causes of discomforts in women. Even religious leaders have realized the importance of the issue and are preaching for use of toilets. Swami Chidanand Saraswati, in May 2013, said that our country has too many temples and mosques. Now there is a need of public toilets so that crores of people mainly females, are benefited and they need not get embarrassed by defecating and bathing in the open. He also claims it is a bigger problem than *mandir-masjid* but no one gives attention to it. He was supported by Dr Kalbe Sadiq, the vice-president of AIMPLB.<sup>14</sup> It is a welcome change for India that social necessities are bringing Hindu and Muslim religious leaders on one platform.

## LANDHOLDING

Landholding is an important asset in rural areas and an indicator of economic status. These are used for cultivation and production of grains and also in economic transactions. According to the SCR, based on NSSO 61st round data (2004-5), 94 per cent of rural households owned land, including homestead land, while 87 per cent owned more than one acre land. The proportion of Muslim households owning land was much lower (83 per cent) than other SRCs. Proportion of Muslims owning more than one acre of land was the lowest of all SRCs.<sup>15</sup> As per NSSO 2009-10 data, among households belonging to the 'land-possessed' class, about 43 per

cent of Christian, 38 per cent of Muslim and 37 per cent of Hindu households cultivated more than or equal to 0.001, but less than 1 ha of land. The proportion of households cultivating more than 4 ha was the highest for Sikhs (6 per cent), followed by Hindu (3 per cent).<sup>16</sup> See Table 12.8.

Since 1987-8 to 2011-12, proportion of households that did not cultivate any land in rural areas has gone up for all SRCs. In 2011-12, this proportion for Muslims was 60 per cent which is very high compared to national average (49 per cent) and close to that of SCs at 62 per cent. During this period, the increase in the proportion is the highest for Muslims with 20 pp. The reason could be sale caused by poverty, movement from rural to urban areas by selling cultivable lands, distress sale or insecurity caused by communal riots. Dispossession of land for Muslims was the highest (9 pp) during the period from 1987-8 to 1993-4. This was the period during which the Ramjanmabhoomi movement was on peak and hundreds of communal riots occurred and thousands of Muslims were killed. During that period, first time in the history, communal riots spread to rural areas. So, the dispossession might have been caused by communal riots. Government may investigate possible reasons of dispossession of lands of Muslims and formulate policy to check it.

TABLE 12.8: PROPORTION OF HOUSEHOLDS THAT DIDN'T CULTIVATE ANY LAND, RURAL INDIA

(in per cent)

Year	SCs	STs	Muslims	Others	Total
1987-8	51	28	40	31	35
1993-4	53	30	49	34	39
1999-2000	56	32	51	35	41
2004-5	58	34	52	38	43
2009-10	61	39	58	41	47
2011-12	62	39	60	43	49

Source: Based on unit-level data from different rounds of NSS surveys of employment and unemployment.<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, state governments' land distribution policies generally ignore Muslims. Although, figures of landholdings of Muslims is almost equal to that of SCs, free land distribution schemes cover SCs (and STs) but ignores Muslims. The Bihar government in 2009-10 started the scheme of giving 3 decimal of land to the members of SCs for construction of houses under IAY. Recently it announced that poor among UCHs would also be covered under the scheme but did not announce anything about Muslims. In Bihar 28.04 per cent Muslims are landless labourers in rural areas. Memorandums have been submitted to include Muslims also in the scheme (<http://twocircles.net/2015dec31/1451536419.html>).

#### THE LAND ACQUISITION ACT, 2013

The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Bill 2013 was passed in 2013. The Act passed by then UPA government came into force on 1 January 2014 which replaced a 119 year old legislation. It was mandated to provide just and fair compensation to farmers while ensuring that no land could be acquired forcibly. It stipulates mandatory consent of at least 70 per cent owners for acquiring land for public-private-partnership (PPP) projects and of 80 per cent owners for private companies. This also provides for the payment of compensation up to 4 times of the market value in rural areas and 2 times in urban areas. It also has consent clauses and social impact assessment.<sup>18</sup> Thus the Act was heavily in favour of farmers especially people of rural areas.

Present NDA government has been attempting to dilute the provisions of the Act through a Bill, making it in favour of private companies and big capitalists. The proposed amendment aimed to remove the consent clause of landowners and doing away with the need for social impact assessment. The government had promulgated three ordinances to implement the Bill with required amendments. The Union Cabinet recommended promulgation of the ordinance for 3rd time on 30 May 2015.<sup>19</sup>

## THE NATIONAL LAND REFORM POLICY

The UPA-II, in August 2013, had prepared the draft for the National Land Reform Policy, another revolutionary step for equitable distribution of surplus land among landless, poor and women in agriculture sector. The draft proposed that every state should revise its ceiling for landholdings if the existing limit was more than 5-10 acres of irrigated and 10-15 acres of non-irrigated land. It aimed at to prevent concentration of large tracts of land through lease-in. Landlord base parties had opposed the draft.<sup>20</sup>

## GOVERNMENT SCHEMES

In the post-Sachar era, the government started many programmes for elimination/reduction of poverty and to support life and livelihood of the poor. The poor among Muslims have also benefited from these schemes.

## CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SCHEMES

1. *The Food Security Act, 2013*: The Act was passed in 2013 which aims to cover maximum 50 per cent population in urban and 75 in rural areas. Thus 67 per cent (81.3 crore) population of India have got the right to food through the Act. It makes provision to provide 35 kg food grains per family per month for Antyodaya (poorest of the poor) families and 5 kg food grains per person for priority families on highly subsidized rates. As per the study *Broken Promises*, around 81.6 per cent Muslim population possess ration cards and rest do not possess any kind of ration cards. Further classification indicates that around 41.8 per cent Muslims possess BPL and around 36.6 per cent APL cards. The proportion of BPL card holders is the least in Muslims. Thus chances of getting benefit from the legislation for Muslims is the least.

2. *Swarnjayanti Gram Swarajgar Yojna (SGSY)*: It aims to provide the poor rural families above poverty line with income generation assets through a mix of bank credit and subsidy. A certain percentage of physical and financial targets is earmarked for beneficiaries belonging to the minority communities.

3. *Swarnjayanti Shahari Rojgar Yojna (SJSRY)*: It consists of two major components namely Urban Self-Employment Programme (USEP) and Urban Wage Employment Programme (UWEP). A certain percentage of physical and financial targets under USEP and UWEP is earmarked for BPL people from the minorities.

4. *Sampurna Grameen Rozgar Yojna (SGRY)*: It is aimed at providing additional wage employment in rural areas alongside the creation of durable community, social and economic infrastructure. A certain percentage of the allocation under this is earmarked for BPL people belonging to the minority communities till these districts come under NREGS.

5. *National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS)*: It was launched in 200 districts of India. Under NREGS, a certain percentage of the allocation is earmarked for the creation of infrastructure in such villages, which have SMP. According to an advertisement published by the UPA-II in February 2014, 4.98 crore households got employment through NREGS.<sup>21</sup> It was the flagship scheme of the UPA government which has helped immensely in job creation and reduction of poverty in rural areas. As per a report titled 'Six years After Sachar', published by Abusaleh Shariff of USIPI, less than four per cent Muslims have enrolled for NREGS benefits and only two per cent are job-card holders.<sup>22</sup> Muslims have not benefited from this flagship scheme.

#### SCHEMES/PROGRAMMES OF MMA

For reducing poverty and economic empowerment of minorities, MMA focuses on educational improvement and skill development for their gainful employment. Some major schemes are: (1) The MSDP, launched in 2008-9, is the flagship programme to address the development deficits by creating socio-economic infrastructure and providing basic amenities in identified MCDs; (2) Concessional Loans by NMDFC; (3) Seekho aur Kamao (Learn & Earn), a placement-linked skill development scheme, was launched in 2013-14 which envisages a minimum of 75 per cent employment of trained minority youths and out of them 50 per cent in organized sector; (4) USTTAD aims at capacity building of minority artists and



craftsmen including lesser known artists/craftsmen; and (5) Nai Roshani for leadership development and economic empowerment of minority women.

#### STATE GOVERNMENT SCHEMES

As per local requirements, several states implement schemes for poverty reduction and supporting the livelihood of the poor. These schemes include: Old age/widow pension scheme; Allowance for unemployed youths; General/disability pension scheme; Waiving off the electricity bill of the poor and farmers; Waiving off the loans of the poor; Supporting marriage and education of children of the poor especially the girl child; and Various housing schemes.

#### REVIEW OF EFFECTIVENESS OF SCHEMES

Under the 15-PP, special effort is being made to make the employment or skill upgradation training available to minorities by allocating a certain outlays from the central government schemes such as SGSY, USEP, UWP, SGRY, MNERGS, etc. These outlays are used to create gainful employment and for development/upgradation of skill of minority youths. However, data show that the target and achievements under these schemes have been very low. Even small targets are not achieved. See Table 12.9.

For SJSRY, the target of outlay had never been more than Rs. 50 crore. Even that small targets had not been achieved fully. In case of USEP, the achieved target had been more than 100 per cent. This needs to be investigated and proper moderation should be done. Access of Muslims to poverty alleviation schemes in states has not been satisfactory. In fact, their access to these schemes is very poor. The study *Broken Promises* presents the actual picture with the help of a survey done among Muslims. See Table 12.10.

It shows poor access of Muslims to five prominent schemes. Only in MNREGS, 6 per cent Muslims have been benefited. In housing and disability pension schemes, share of Muslim is poor. State governments need to devise methods to sensitize the official machinery to increase the reach of schemes to Muslims. Effective-

TABLE 12.9: TARGETS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF VARIOUS CENTRAL SCHEMES

(in per cent)

Central Schemes	2006-7		2007-8		2008-9		2009-10		2010-11		2011-12		2012-13	
	T	A	T	A	T	A	T	A	T	A	T	A	T	A
SJSRY*	36.59	3.17	50.47	43.99	34.26	53.01	33.46	52.72	37.0	83.70	37.17	93.03	6.681	65.08
SJSRY (Skill Training for Employment Promotion of Urban Poor)**	22,539	34.43	22,535	184.02	22,531	165.01	29,994	101.41	29,999	117.63	41,250	116.39	75,000	116.62
USEP**	18,034	30.31	18,031	96.41	18,031	169.56	3,749	252.55	3,749	402.21	11,252	103.19	12751	121.02
SGSY: Physical Achievements (Aajevika)**	1,63,655	36.96	2,01,909	71.01	2,64,400	104.05	2,73,372	65.05	3,26,601	74.78	2,97,218	50.51	2,83,189	37.50

Source: MMA.

Notes: \*Financial Targets in Rs. crore; \*\* Physical Targets.

TABLE 12.10: MUSLIMS' ACCESS TO POVERTY ALLEVIATION SCHEMES

State	MGNREGS	Widow Pension	Disability Pension	Old Age Pension	Housing Scheme
AP	0.5	0.3	0.8	2	0.4
Bihar	11	0.5	0	5	4
Jharkhand	6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.2
Kerala	4	2	0.6	1	1
Karnataka	11	5	1	3	3
Maharashtra	0	1	0.3	1	0.3
MP	1	0.8	0.4	4	0
Rajasthan	15	2	0.2	0.2	0.3
TN	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	1
UP	0.9	0.2	0	0.2	0.2
WB	1	0.3	0.3	3	0.5
Gujarat	0.5	1	0	0.5	0.3
Haryana	2	2	0.5	0	0
Delhi	0	0	0	0	0
Himachal Pradesh	56	2	0.4	0.9	0
Total	6	1	0.4	2	0.9

*Source:* Broken Promises.

ness of these schemes should not be limited to papers, seminars, workshops, etc. General analysis shows that the PM 15 PP mainly covers the issues of education, credit, housing, employment and communal harmony for minorities. It is clubbed with existing schemes of other ministries like IAY, ICDS, SSA, MNREGS and other employment generation schemes. During implementation Muslims are not their prime target and thus their reach to these schemes are poor. It needs to be corrected on priority basis.

## SCHEMES TO IMPROVE CONDITION OF LIVING

NIRMAL BHARAT ABHIYAN

The centre started the NBA since 1 April 2012 with the objective of improving sanitary coverage, health and hygiene in rural areas. It is being implemented with a district as the project and a 'Gram

Panchayat' as the base unit. Objectives of NBA: (1) Bring about improvement in the general quality of life; (2) Accelerate sanitation coverage to achieve the vision of Nirmal Bharat by 2022; (3) Motivate communities and Panchayati Raj Institutions to create awareness about health and sanitation; (4) To cover schools not covered under SSA and Anganwadi centres with proper sanitation facilities; (5) To develop ecologically safe and cost effective sanitation techniques; and (6) Develop community managed solid and liquid waste management for overall cleanliness.<sup>23</sup>

#### SWACCH BHARAT MISSION

The SBM is being implemented by the Ministry of Urban Development and the Ministry of Drinking Water and Sanitation in urban and rural areas respectively since 2 October 2014 as a tribute to Mahatma Gandhi on his 150th birth anniversary to be celebrated in 2019. Its objectives are: (1) Elimination of open defecation; (2) Eradication of Manual Scavenging; (3) Modern and Scientific Solid Waste Management; (4) Behavioural change regarding healthy sanitation; (5) Generate awareness about sanitation; and (6) Capacity augmentation and private sector participation.<sup>24</sup>

These two schemes are in initial phase and there is no data available regarding financial outlays, coverage and their effectiveness. Their coverage in minority areas may be reviewed after their implementation period ends.

#### NATIONAL RURAL DRINKING WATER PROGRAMME

The NRDWP aims to improve the availability and quality of water in rural areas. Here also the 15 PP suggests that at least 15 per cent of the benefits under this should go to areas with SMP. But data shows that financial allocation and habitations covered, both have been below this benchmark. Only in 2011-12, the habitations covered were 18 per cent of the total on national level. In most of the financial years the number of minority habitations covered have been below 15 per cent of the total. It shows benefits under it has also not reached to minority areas.

## SOME SUGGESTIONS

In his first speech as the President, Pranab Mukherjee said in July 2012, 'Trickle-down theories do not address the legitimate aspiration of the poor'. Analysis of data shows that more than 20 years of economic reforms initiated by Dr. Manmohan Singh and pursued by all governments, in spite of all corrective mechanisms such as MNREGS, have resulted in greater economic inequality. In India SCs, STs, lower OBCs among Hindus and Muslims constitute the bulk of the deprived. Economic disparity is rampant in Indian society. There is an urgent need for the study of equal distribution of benefits of economic prosperity. There is also a need to classify economic disparity into region and state-wise and among social groups. The government should define the Economic Disparity Index, get the study done and make it a part of annual budget.<sup>25</sup> After Russia, India is the most unequal nation globally, where 54 per cent of its wealth is in the hands of millionaires. Japan and Australia are the most equal nations where respectively 22 and 28 per cent wealth are controlled by millionaires. It is the duty of the government to create an equal and egalitarian society in India.<sup>26</sup>

Muslims are part of the larger society, their backwardness can only be addressed by a broad approach and inclusive planning from all departments rather than depending fully on one ministry. Programmes and schemes designed by all ministries need to fix certain share of finances and physical achievements for Muslims in proportion to their population. This can be done by bringing all the ministries/department under the net of PM 15 PP.

## SOME MORE SUGGESTIONS: STATE LEVEL

There is no systematic study about poverty among Muslims in India. The government needs to constitute a committee for systematic analysis of causes and consequences of poverty in Muslims. The committee may suggest measures to tackle the problem of poverty and government policy initiatives to improve the condition. Besides, the problem of poverty among Muslims could be treated as a national problem and government should initiate time-

bound policy interventions to ameliorate it. It should focus on schemes/ programmes which mainly focus on enhancing income and generating gainful employment. It should devise a methodology and process to provide all basic services on the basis of demand of an individual of any locality within a stipulated time-frame. It can promote the concept of 'integrated housing' and 'inclusive neighbourhoods' for mainstreaming of minorities. For improvement in employment and economic conditions, the government should formulate appropriate policy for giving reservation to deprived sections in Muslims in government jobs and admissions.

*Suggestions: Community Level*

The central as well as many state governments have been implementing several schemes like SGRY, MNREGS, SGSY, etc., for creating employment and improving the condition of livelihood of the poor. PM's 15 PP mandates that at least 15 per cent of the financial outlay and physical targets should be earmarked for areas with high minority population. However, data shows that Muslims have not benefited from these schemes. Community NGOs, SHGs and activists need to create awareness about these schemes. They need to collect detail under RTI about these schemes in their respective areas about financial outlay, number of beneficiaries, number of beneficiaries to be covered from minorities, formalities to be completed, etc. After analysis, they need to educate people about how to take benefit from these schemes. Taking benefit from government schemes is not easy, it requires a lot of patience and hard work. In case of discrimination, matter can be raised on proper forums and corrective steps can be suggested.

## NOTES

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## Government Employment

Our Constitution is good and we do not make any distinction in our rules and regulations or laws. But, in effect, changes creep in due to various administrative practices & mindset of various officers. In our Defense Services, there are hardly any Muslims left. In the vast Central Secretariat of Delhi, there are very few Muslims. Probably the position is somewhat better in the province, but not much more so. What concerns me most is that there is no effort being made to improve this situation, which is likely to grow worse unless checked. I am distressed to note about this discriminatory attitude towards Muslims.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, *Letters to CMs, 1947-1964*,  
vol. 3, 1952-4, pp. 375-6

### INTRODUCTION

Government and Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs) employment not only provide an employment or a source of income, but also many social, economic and housing benefits. Government employees get many benefits: (1) Monthly salary; (2) Medical and housing facilities; (3) Bonus and various allowances; (4) Retirement benefits, e.g., pension, gratuity, etc.; and (5) Easy loans for house, education, marriage, etc., Besides long term assured income and retirement benefits, the higher position in government jobs offer the employee privileged positions in society through ascribed and sometimes assumed status. They are accorded high status and protocol privileges as representatives of the government.

In a pluralistic society, as we have in Indian, a reasonable representation of various SRCs in government employment is necessary to enhance participatory governance. A detailed analysis by the SCR shows that only a small proportion of government/PSU



employees are Muslims and they are concentrated in lower-level positions. Inclusion of Muslim in bureaucracy is important for the holistic development of the nation. Whenever a community finds itself in a situation where it has no proper share in bureaucracy, it loses interest in the state of affairs of the nation. It is high time that the government should analyse the reasons behind poor representation of Muslims and try to correct it. Amar Singh writes, 'Proper representation of the minorities, especially Muslims, in the police and defense forces will prove to be a morale-booster for them in terms of their safety and security issues, but this also has not been looked into'.

#### CENTRAL GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

The SCR recommended to create a National Data Bank (NDB) where all relevant data pertaining to share of various SRCs in employment and various schemes would be maintained. Even after eleven years, a proper NDB has not been created. Primary data pertaining to share of Muslims in various departments of the central government and in the recent recruitments is not available. Even the MMA does not maintain religion-wise data and hence exact share of Muslims in the employment of the central government is not available. MMA maintains data under the head of minority where consolidated data for all minorities are available.

The SCR revealed that Muslims representation in the central government departments was 4.9 and 7.2 per cent in all PSUs. Their under-representation is still continuing. What is even more disturbing that the figures have declined further as compared to previous years. See Table 13.1.

In 2011-12, five minority communities – Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Zoroastrians – accounted for 6.24 per cent of the new recruits down from 10.18 in 2010-11 and 7.28 per cent in 2009-10. One cannot know if Muslims have got any meaningful share in the central jobs or any improvement in their share has taken place in the post-Sachar era as separate data on Muslims is not available. Fluctuating trend in the recruitment indicates that the government has no clear policy to increase the share of

TABLE 13.1: SHARE OF MINORITIES IN CENTRAL GOVERNMENT DEPTS AND PSU, RECENT RECRUITMENT

Department/ Organizations	2006-7	2007-8	2008-9	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12
Government Ministries/ Departments	5,485	1,620	2,593	1,339	22,349	4,665
PuSBs and FIs	(8.37)	(8.71)	(12.75)	(8.22)	(11.99)	(4.10)
Paramilitary Forces	702	1,615	4,263	2,930	4,702	4,245
Posts	(6.93)	(10.20)	(8.87)	(7.18)	(7.36)	(7.50)
Railways	2,700	4,914	3,068	2,682	4,539	3,404
PSUs	(9.49)	(9.90)	(10.2)	(8.16)	(9.21)	(5.60)
	386	517	176	617	1,293	768
	(7.60)	(9.65)	(6.36)	(8.01)	(8.29)	(8.11)
	1,456	2,295	2,739	1,705	1,591	3,521
	(2.67)	(6.31)	(7.56)	(6.65)	(8.72)	(12.53)
	1,453	1,234	2,107	—	1,218	1,776
	(11.86)	(5.52)	(5.52)	(1,322)	(7.02)	(6.91)
	(133	(126	(161	(5.92)	(121	(157
	PSUs)	PSUs	PSUs	—	PSUs	PSUs
Total Recruited (%)	12,182	12,195	14,946	10,595	35,692	18,379
	(6.93)	(8.23)	(9.9)	(7.28)	(10.2)	(6.24)

Source: MMA.

Notes: Figures in parentheses are percentage to total recruitment in that organization in respective years; FIs: Financial Institutions.

minorities. Vague circulars and lip services of the ministers at higher level do not bring any result. In some departments, Muslims representation is pathetically low. Their representation in the RBI is as low as 0.75 per cent.<sup>1</sup> Their share in security and intelligence agencies is extremely low. Muslims are also not welcomed in the private sector. Among the BSE 500 companies, Muslims constitute 2.67 per cent of directors and senior executives: a paltry 62 out of 2,324 executives (*The Economic Times*, 7 September 2015).

## STATE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

### MAHARASHTRA

As per the MRC Report, share of Muslims in state employment especially in administration and police was significantly lower than

their share in state population. Muslims share in the state employment was only 4.4 per cent. There was no Muslim IAS officer out of a sanctioned strength of 350. There were only 4 directly appointed IPS officers out of a sanctioned strength of 302. The situation was no better in other departments. It outlined poverty, lack of education and lack of effective enabling programmes to mainstream Muslims as the main reasons. Frequent occurrence of communal riots pushed the community back from education and employment. It recommended the state should give 8 per cent reservation for Muslims in government jobs and admissions.<sup>2</sup>

The situation was worse in areas of high Muslim concentration. According to a TISS report on Malegaon, Muslim youths were totally absent in government departments especially in Group A jobs. In Group B their representation was a miniscule 0.1 per cent.<sup>3</sup> In Malegaon Municipal Corporation (MMC) where majority of elected members were Muslims, there was no Muslim in Class I and Class II jobs. There were 45 Class III and 150 Class IV employees. Those employees were mostly from Shah and Baig *biradaris* (considered as 'low caste' among Muslims), who worked in the MMC as peons and sweepers. It is said that MMC only elects Muslim members but does not select Muslims as employees.

## WEST BENGAL

As per the SCR, although Muslims constituted 25.2 per cent of the state population, their share in the state employment was 2.1 per cent. Recent data suggests that in 2012 total 2,781 lady constables were recruited out of which 288 were from the minority communities which is 10.4 per cent of the total. In Kolkata police total 837 lady constables were recruited out of which 78 were from minorities which is around 9.4 per cent of the total. In WB, minorities are about 28 per cent of the state population. Thus their share in the government employment was much below than their share in the population. Although Mamata Banerjee has been giving honorarium to *imams* but there has been no genuine effort to increase the share of Muslims in state employment.<sup>4</sup>

## GUJARAT

Sanchetana, an NGO based in Ahmedabad said to the Sachar Committee, 'The impact of discriminatory policies extends to even Gujarat Public Service Commission Board where no Muslim candidates are allowed to cross the threshold of success even though several eligible candidates pass the written examination.'<sup>5</sup> As per the SCR, while Muslims constituted 9.1 per cent of the state population, their share in state employment was 5.36 per cent. According to a report, Indian Muslims have much better share in all state level PSUs. But compared to other communities and other states in India, it is only in Gujarat that Muslims do not have access to organized and PSU employment. Muslims some-what favourable proportion in Gujarat government employment is not the result of recent recruitments. Such recruitments have been over decades or so. According to a report Gujarat government failed to provide data on Muslims recruitment in state government and PSUs employment from category A to D in say last 10 years before 2012. Gujarat like many other Indian states has not provided any specified quota in employment and education for Muslims.<sup>6</sup>

## REPRESENTATION IN CIVIL SERVICES (CS)

As per the Civil Lists of Indian Administrative Service (IAS), Indian Foreign Service (IFS) and Indian Police Service (IPS) available in 2006, Muslims were found to be only 3 in IAS, 1.8 in IFS and 4 per cent in IPS. Moreover, most of the Muslim officers had been inducted to these services as 'promoted candidates'. According to a report published in 2014 the representation of Muslims in IAS and IPS was almost the same. See Table 13.2.

Muslims made up 3.46 per cent of the country's 8,489 IAS and IPS officers. Of 292 Muslim officers, 160 are among 5,862 who had been recruited through UPSC. Remaining 132 were among 2,555 who had been promoted to IAS and IPS from the state services as part of their induction policy. As per 2001 population yardstick, India had one IAS or IPS officer among every 5.73 lakh Muslims compared to one among every 1.08 lakh non-Muslims.

TABLE 13.2: MUSLIMS REPRESENTATION IN IAS AND IPS

Type of Recruitment	Break Up	IAS	IPS
All Officers	All	4,691	3,798
	Muslims	153	139
	%	3.26	3.66
UPSC Recruitment	All	3,245	2,617
	Muslims	81	79
	%	2.49	3.01
Promoted	All	1,374	1,181
	Muslims	72	60
	%	5.24	5.08

Source: *The Indian Express*, Pune, 27 June 2014.

UP leads the Muslims officers count with 55, followed by Bihar with 35, Kerala 16 and J&K with 15. Bihar and UP account for more than half of the Muslim officers who cleared UPSC.<sup>7</sup>

#### UNION PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION RECRUITMENT

The UPSC conducts examination and interview for IAS, IFS, IPS, Central Group 'A' and Group 'B' Services that include more than 25 services. Muslims are grossly under-represented in the recruitment of CS conducted by the UPSC. See Table 13.3.

Muslims representation in the CS has been almost static – hovering around 3 per cent while their population share is five times more. Over the years, it has shown little change. Average selection rate of SCs and STs are around 16 and 8 per cent respectively. We have already seen that educational condition of Muslims and SCs/STs are almost similar. Higher selection rate of SCs and STs is attributed to the reservation being given to them.

#### REMOVAL OF ARABIC AND PERSIAN FROM UPSC

By notification dated 5 March 2013, the UPSC removed Arabic and Persian along with Pali, German, French and Russian from the

TABLE 13.3: REPRESENTATION OF SCs, STs AND MUSLIMS (2005-16)

Year of Result	Total Selected Candidates	SCs		STs		Muslims	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
2005	422	64	15.16	47	11.13	13	3.08
2006	425	57	13.41	41	9.64	12	2.82
2007	474	80	16.87	36	7.59	18	3.79
2008	638	109	17.08	53	8.30	27	4.23
2009	791	130	16.43	61	7.71	31	3.91
2010	875	127	14.51	76	8.68	21	2.40
2011	920	148	16.08	74	8.04	31	3.36
2012	910	157	17.25	78	8.57	30	3.29
2013	998	169	16.93	77	7.71	28	2.80
2014	1,122	187	16.66	92	8.19	37	3.29
2015	1,236	194	15.69	98	7.93	38	3.07
2016	1,078	176	16.33	89	8.26	36	3.34

Sources: Indiatommoro.net<sup>8</sup> & TCN.

list of optional subjects for the main examination which invited strong condemnation from across the country. Many Muslim candidates especially from Bihar and UP take these subjects as optional for main examination. The decision was seen as a deliberate attempt to block the entry of Muslim students so that Muslims representation in the CS would go further down.

Arabic and Persian scholars say that these subjects have been India's official languages for centuries and their removal from UPSC cannot be justified. There are millions of books in libraries in these languages apart from revenue records in many states. Not just Mughals, hundreds of Princely States used Persian as an official language in the nineteenth century and even later. By that act, the UPSC did great injustice to those languages. It showed lack of awareness among UPSC chairman and members about Indian history and culture. Teachers and students protested outside the UPSC and United Muslim Front held a protest led by Shahid Ali. The All India Association of Arabic Teachers & Scholars (AIAATS) in collaboration with the All India Persian Scholars' Association (AIPSA) organized a symposium in Delhi. Mohammad Adeeb, a

former MP, had spoken to the then PM. In spite of these efforts, these languages have not been included. Nearly two decades back, there was a similar decision by the UPSC to remove these languages but after protests, the notification had been revoked. However, it has not been revoked this time. This is a great injustice to the community and great disservice to the nation.

#### LIMITED COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION (LCE) FOR RECRUITMENT OF IPS

In 2011, a PSC on Home Affairs had proposed for an LCE for recruitment of 1,400 new IPS officers to which PMO had also given approval. The UPSC was to conduct the LCE in which only Deputy Superintendent of Police and Major/Captain level officers of the defence forces were allowed to participate.

In the armed forces the share of Muslims is far lower than their share in the IPS. The situation of the Muslims at the level of Dy SP is no better. Muslims felt that if such a decision had been implemented, their percentage in the IPS would have gone further down. Intellectuals including Rajinder Sachar decried the PMO's decision and said that the policy was against the interest of Muslims. They also said that the PMO's decision violated Articles 15 and 16 of the Constitution and IPS officers must be recruited as usual by the UPSC. Notably, IPS associations of all the states had opposed the idea, on the ground that the idea of LCE was against the spirit of recommendations of many Administration Reforms Committees. The Muslims have demanded that the government must scrap the LCE as it pre-empted Muslim intake.

#### REASONS FOR POOR REPRESENTATION OF MUSLIMS IN THE UPSC

On the request from the Sachar Committee, UPSC had undertaken special tabulations from its records relating to share of Muslims who appeared at main examinations, selected for interview and finally for appointment. On the basis of data of 2003 and 2004, only 4.9 per cent of the candidates who appeared in the written examination were Muslims. However, the success rate of Muslims

was about the same as other candidates at all stages. The SCR says, 'While the small number of Muslim candidates appearing in the written examination of the CS is a cause for concern, similar success rates are re-assuring and there is a need to improve Muslim participation in the UPSC'. Naseem A. Zaidi, former head of Economics department at AMU, Aligarh, says that low level of participation of Muslim students in CS examination rather than their probability of being selected is the major cause for low representation. According to Zafar Mahmood, the reason is not discrimination but low participation at the preliminary stage. In 2013, 7,76,565 candidates applied for prelims and out of which 3,23,949 appeared in it. 14,959 candidates qualified for mains and 3,003 were selected for interview. Finally, 1,122 candidates were selected.<sup>9</sup> According to an estimate only 1,200 Muslim candidates appeared for Prelims in 2011. If we take about 1,500 Muslim candidates appearing in 2013, it comes around 0.5 per cent of the total candidates. This is very low as compared to the Muslims' share in the population. Thus not discrimination or success rate of Muslim candidates, their very low participation at prelim stage is the main reason for low success. Community should concentrate on increasing the number of students and enhancing their talent by opening good quality schools rather than starting too many coaching institutes. Intellectuals feel that UPSC preparation must start from school days.

#### INDIAN ARMY

At data collection stage, the Sachar Committee had recommended the headcount of Muslims at different levels of the army. However, the idea was strongly resisted by the then Army Chief J.J. Singh who said that such survey would dent the core of the institution. Initiating a survey to know the under-representation of a religious community in army is the duty of the government. Surveys conducted to know the under representation, do not dent the core of the institution. While there is no official data available, Muslims are roughly around 2 per cent and their number comes around 29,000 in the million-strong Indian army, as per a news channel survey programmed titled 'Minority Report'. And if the number of Muslims serving in J&K Infantry (JKI) that has over 50 per cent



Muslims and those in other wings not directly dealing with warfare are excluded, the proportion would go further down.<sup>10</sup>

Recruitment to Indian army is done on two levels – jawan and officer. Army conducts recruitments in different parts of the country and recruits jawans who rise up to Subedar Major level. Official data pertaining to Muslims share in these recruitments is not available. Officers are recruited through the National Defence Academy (NDA) and Combined Defence Services (CDS) Examinations.

#### NDA RECRUITMENT

The UPSC conducts test for admission to NDA twice a year and the interviews are held by the Service Selection Board of the Ministry of Defence. These selections are done for admission to the Army, Navy and Air Force wings of NDA and Naval Academy. See Table 13.4.

Maximum 17 candidates got into NDA in 2010. In 9 years, 92 Muslims have been selected out of the total 5,610 (1.64 per cent). This shows grave under-representation of Muslims. Similar situation must be there in the recruitment of army jawans.

TABLE 13.4: MUSLIMS SHARE IN NDA RECRUITMENT

Year	Total Selected	Muslims Selected	% of Muslims
2006	653	9	1.38
2007	520	4	0.77
2008	456	5	1.10
2009	463	3	0.65
2010	742	17	2.29
2011	694	13	1.87
2012	636	11	1.73
2013	570	7	1.23
2014	453	16	3.53
2015	423	7	1.65
Total	5,610	92	1.64

Source: TwoCircles.Net.<sup>11</sup>

## CDS EXAMINATION

The UPSC conducts CDS examination for admission to the Indian Military Academy, Dehradun, Indian Naval Academy, Ezhimala and Air Force Academy, Hyderabad. Representation of Muslims in CDS is 1.96 per cent. See Table 13.5.

These two tables point to a situation where Muslims are totally marginalized from the army and need some concrete measures to get proper representation. India has separate regiments for the Sikhs, Jats, Dogras, Garhwalis, Kumaonis, Marathas, the Nagas, even the Gurkhas but not a single Muslim regiment. The reason lies partly in history. Just as Muslims are under-represented in the army, so are Bengalis, Biharis, Oriyas, south Indians and Gujaratis. And just as the Sikhs are over-represented so are the Jats, Dogras, Garhwalis, Kumaonis, Gurkhas, Marathas and others. India's army recruitment pattern was set in the backdrop of 1857 revolt. The British were shocked by the sudden uprising and thus they adopted a recruitment policy that punished the groups which rebelled against and rewarded the ones that favoured them. As Muslims of Awadh, Bihar and WB led the uprising, the British army stopped recruitment from these areas. Also blacklisted from these places were Upper Caste Hindus (UCH) whose regiments in Bengal were mutineers. On the contrary, the British raised the regiments of castes that had stood by them to put down the revolution. These castes received preferential treatment in the recruitment of the British

TABLE 13.5: SHARE OF MUSLIMS IN CDS

Year	Total Candidates	Muslims Candidates	% of Muslims
2011	351	7	1.99
2013	257	11	4.28
2014(I)	570	7	1.22
2014(II)	238	3	1.26
2015(II)	166	3	1.80
Total	1,582	31	1.96

Source: TwoCircles.Net.

army for the following 90 years. Thus, like many other institutions, Indian army is a prisoner of the past. After Partition Muslims were viewed with suspicion and not recruited in the army. People also talk about some classified circular which directed not to recruit Indian Muslims. Antagonism between India and Pakistan is seen in both countries as Hindu versus Muslim. It discourages qualified Muslim youths from joining the army. India's armed forces are averse to hiring of Muslims because they suspect their loyalty to India. The discrimination is the natural outcome of bitter rivalry between India and Pakistan for over 70 years.<sup>12</sup>

Muslims are integral part of the Indian society and they love their motherland, respect the Constitution the most and their loyalty to the nation is unquestioned. Their physical strength and academic talent is similar to the people of other SRCs. For example, Sofia Qureshi of Gujarat led the India Army contingent in the multinational field training exercise, in which representatives of 17 countries participated. Lieutenant Colonel Sofia became the first ever Indian woman to lead the Indian contingent in such an event. The exercise was held at NDA Pune in March 2016 (*Aaj Ka Anand*, 4 March 2016). To make Indian Muslims more confident and part of the mainstream, they should be recruited in proportion to their population in all wings of the army. Their huge under-representation is not a good sign of participatory governance.

#### MUSLIMS IN JUDICIARY

Judiciary is the most important constituent of the criminal-justice system. General public has faith in judiciary and they reach to courts with high hopes and expectations. As per the SCR, overall Muslims' share in judiciary was 7.8 per cent; the OBCs constituted 23 and SCs/STs 20 per cent. The UCH were over represented with almost twice of their population share and nearly one half of all employed at the cost of Muslims and Hindu-OBCs.

Muslims also have high hopes in the judiciary. On most of the occasions when state agencies have given them trauma and trouble, they have received justice from the courts. Hundreds of Muslim youths, who were framed by state police or specialized agencies

formed in the name of fighting terrorism, have been released by the courts. In this backdrop, proper share of Muslims in judiciary would be a welcome step. In most of the sensitive or terrorism related cases, Muslim turn towards Muslim lawyers more spontaneously due to various reasons. In bar associations also Muslim representation is low. See Table 13.6.

The Gujarat HC Bar Association has only 3.9 per cent Muslims. It is sad to note that in 2013, 70 judges were appointed for High Courts in UP, but not a single Muslim was selected.<sup>13</sup> As per the Department of Justice report published in January 2016, there were 1,044 sanctioned posts of judges in 24 High Courts in India out of which 601 posts were filled and 443 vacant. Out of 601 sitting judges only 26 were Muslims. Thus Muslims representation in HC was 4.3 per cent. Shockingly, in 2017 there was no Muslim judge in 12 High Courts. Moreover, out of this 26 Muslim judges, 8 were scheduled to retire in 2016 and three would retire in 2017. Thus in 2017 the number could fall well below 20 (TCN: 13 January 2016). For the first time in 11 years, there was no Muslim judge in the SCI. The last Muslim judges Justice M.Y. Eqbal and Fakkir

TABLE 13.6: MUSLIMS IN JUDICIARY IN AHMEDABAD

Courts, Judges and Bar Associations	Total Members	Number of Muslims	% of Muslims
The Ahmedabad Bar Association and Small Causes Court Association	2,383	151	6.4
The Ahmedabad District Bar Association	626	48	7.7
Coop, Bar Association	88	1	1.2
The Ahmedabad Criminal Court Bar Association	987	128	13.0
The Gujarat HC Bar Association	1,139	45	3.9
The Income Tax and Sales Tax Bar Association	271	3	1.1
The Labour Laws Practitioners Association	192	16	8.5

Source: Muslims in Indian Cities, Trajectories of Marginalization (2012).

Mohamed Ibrahim Kalifulla retired on 2 February and 22 July 2016 respectively (*The Indian Express*, 6 September 2016).

In 2014, the then outgoing CJI, P. Sathasivam had said that rules and criteria in the appointment of judges should be relaxed for giving proper representation to members of SCs/STs, OBCs, minorities and women in judiciary if they were deserving. In a seminar, Madras High Court sitting judge D. Hari Paranthaman demanded constitutional amendment to give reservation to deprived communities in higher judiciary. Concerned about the low representation of Muslims and SCs/STs in higher judiciary, he cited the Munda Committee report and demanded reservation to ensure social justice (TCN: 11 January, 2016).

#### STATE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONS (SPSC)

The SCR showed that the share of Muslims in all recruitments by the SPSC was about 2.1 per cent whereas their share in the state population was about 12.4 per cent in states that provided data. SPSCs conduct joint examination to select candidates for Group A services which include the post of Deputy Collector, Dy SP, Sales Tax Officers, etc. Although data on share of Muslims in these recruitments for five years is not available, experience shows that the Muslim share has been dismal. Only 5 Muslims figured in the lists of 435 candidates who cracked the 2014 Maharashtra Public Service Commission Mains exams.<sup>14</sup>

In Bihar Muslims constitute 16.9 per cent of the state population. Bihar Public Service Commission conducts examination for a host of state level services including Bihar Administrative Service, Bihar Police Service, etc. The share of Muslims in these services has been very low. See Table 13.7.

In 46th exam share of Muslims was above their population share. In all other years, it has been below their population share.

Muslims' success rate has been poorer in other states. In SPSCs also very less number of Muslim candidates appear at the Prelim stage. An analysis done in the early 1980s of the SPSCs recruitment showed that the success rate of Muslims was not significantly different from that of others (Hasan, 1997: 290-1). So, there is a

TABLE 13.7: SHARE OF MUSLIMS IN THE  
BPSC RECRUITMENT

Serial number of BPSC Exams	Year of Result	Total Selected	Muslim Selected	% of Muslims
46	2007	103	18	17.5
47	2009	87	4	4.6
48, 49, 50, 51, & 52	2010	362	37	10.2
53, 54 & 55	2013	968	58	6.0

Source: BPSC Website: <http://bpsc.bih.nic.in>.

need to increase the number of Muslim candidates at the Prelim stage. There is also a need to start SPSCs coaching along with the UPSC coaching in all state capitals.

#### MUSLIMS IN POLICE

As per the SCR, Muslims representation in the Home Department was 7.3 per cent which was the highest among all departments about which the Committee collected data. AP was the only state that showed the representation of Muslims more than their population share. Latest estimate is based on data provided by the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB). See Table 13.8.

Share of Muslims in police force in 2013 was 6.27 per cent: 6.49 in states and 2.17 in UTs. AP, Kerala, Manipur, WB and A&N Islands had some satisfactory representation of Muslims. Only in AP, the share of Muslims (9.02 per cent) is commensurate with their population share in the state.<sup>15</sup> Of the 108,602 Muslims serving in the police force in India in 2013, a total of 41,089 were from J&K alone. So, if we exclude J&K from the list, the share of Muslims at all India level would be barely 4.07 per cent.

In 2007, Muslims in police stood at 1.01 lakh which was 7.55 per cent of the total 13.4 lakh. But by 2012 the percentage growth of the total police force had been registered at 24 per cent whereas the percentage of Muslims has fallen by 1 per cent to 6.5 per cent. In the previous five years a total of 3.26 lakh policemen had been recruited across India while only 7,132 Muslim were recruited in the period which was 2.18 per cent of the total recruited.

TABLE 13.8: REPRESENTATION OF SCs, STs AND MUSLIMS IN POLICE FORCES DURING 2013

States/UTs	SC	ST	Muslims	Others	Total	% of Muslims
AP	10,880	6,718	9,619	79,414	1,06,631	9.02
Arunachal Pradesh	68	7,703	110	1,992	9,873	1.11
Assam	2,727	5,750	2,284	43,674	54,435	4.20
Bihar	7,141	2,175	3,060	64,968	77,344	3.96
Chhattisgarh	3,032	11,152	500	34,003	48,687	1.03
Goa	137	474	104	5,206	5,921	1.76
Gujarat	9,535	13,890	3,202	47,469	74,096	4.32
Haryana	7,665	2	620	33,708	41,995	1.48
HP	3,595	1,053	198	10,154	15,000	1.32
J&K	3,522	4,401	41,089	26,173	75,185	54.65
Jharkhand	7,334	15,796	2,256	31,029	56,415	4.00
Karnataka	14,536	3,693	4,743	53,905	76,877	6.17
Kerala	3,175	553	4,011	38,768	46,507	8.62
MP	13,501	13,111	2,772	54,634	84,018	3.30
Maharashtra	25,237	16,540	7,561	1,48,640	1,97,978	3.82
Manipur	633	6,831	2,602	15,608	25,674	10.13
Meghalaya	217	10,203	203	574	11,197	1.81
Mizoram	244	8,448	46	588	9,326	0.49
Nagaland	336	9,526	110	31	10,003	1.10
Odisha	8,720	11,247	672	30,757	51,396	1.31
Punjab	20,195	3	240	55,661	76,099	0.32
Rajasthan	13,345	11,747	871	55,050	81,013	1.08
Sikkim	332	1,960	9	1,978	4,279	0.21
TN	20,192	1,235	1,846	77,981	1,01,254	1.82
Tripura	3,059	7,715	1,214	11,631	23,619	5.14
UP	38,568	1,793	8,378	1,14,044	1,62,783	5.15
Uttarakhand	3,960	1636	420	15243	21,259	1.98
WB	18,664	5,461	7,912	60,811	92,848	8.52
Total States	2,40,550	1,80,816	1,06,652	1,11,3694	16,41,712	6.50
UNION TERRITORIES						
A&N Islands	0	387	376	3,494	4,257	8.83
Chandigarh	918	4	30	5,085	6,037	0.50
D&N Haveli	28	166	5	88	287	1.74
Daman & Diu	83	31	9	247	370	2.43
Delhi	12,560	5,571	1,485	56,088	75,704	1.96
Lakshadweep	1	340	2	41	384	0.52
Puducherry	504	9	43	2,230	2,786	1.54
Total (UTs)	14,094	6,508	1,950	67,273	89,825	2.17
Total (All India)	2,54,644	18,7324	1,08,602	11,80,967	17,31,537	6.27

Source: Crime in India (2013), NCRB, MHA.

## GROWTH OF POLICE FORCE

Representation of Muslims in police has been decreasing with 7.55 per cent in 2007 to 6.27 per cent in 2013. Percentage growth in 6 years for total force was 28.41 per cent while the corresponding figure for Muslim was only 6.63. See Table 13.9.

For the first time in 16 years, the MHA has decided to stop making public information about Muslims strength in the police force. In fact, such data was first made public in 1999 during the first NDA government. Now if it happens, we will not be able to get share of Muslims in the police force in India and such analysis would not be possible (*The Indian Express*, 30 November 2015).

Due to constant propaganda by right wing forces, biased and motivated reporting by the media and consequent communalization of the security forces, the police has distorted perception about the Muslim community. Due to this, ties between police and the Muslims has always been problematic. Indian Muslims have huge trust deficit in security agencies.

Police brutality towards the powerless segments of the society mainly Muslims and Dalits has been a fact of life since 1947. Experts say, increasing the number of Muslims in the police force and their sensitization towards Muslim community are major solutions of the problem. A former National Security Advisor had once said that the police was seen to have failed in its duty towards an important segment of the society, i.e. Muslims. He had also favoured recruitment of more youths from the community in the police force to address the situation.<sup>16</sup>

TABLE 13.9: GROWTH IN POLICE FORCE

Year	2007	2011	2012	2013	Growth %*
All Policemen	13,48,355	16,60,151	16,74,755	17,31,537	28.41
Muslim Policemen	1,01,843	1,08,389	1,08,975	1,08,602	6.63
% of Muslims	7.55%	6.52%	6.50%	6.27%	—

Source: NCRB, New Delhi.

Note: \*From 2007 to 2013.



REASONS FOR LOW REPRESENTATION OF  
MUSLIMS IN GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT

1. The historical reason is related to 1857 revolt in which, at many places, Muslims guided the revolt and played an important role. The British blamed Muslims and never trusted them to important positions and closed the government offices and judiciary for them. Marginalization of Muslims began there.
2. In the aftermath of 1857, the British adopted hostile and discriminatory attitude to Muslims. In turn, Muslims generated hatred for the British which extended to Western education and English language. Muslim went away from the education which was key to the government employment.
3. Muslims were blamed for partition, although political reasons were responsible. They were discriminated and their entry was unofficially banned in many departments. During Congress rule, there was talk of a classified circular which directed that no Muslims be appointed to senior-level positions in the police and defence forces.
4. Position of Muslims became worse due to the hate campaign carried out against them. In such an atmosphere, to protect the identity of Muslims, the *ulama* prescribed *madrasa* education for youths. They believed that *madrasa* education alone would shape them as good human beings and tie them to the religion. Thus Muslims went away from mainstream education which could have given them government employment.
5. Thousands of human life and huge properties of Muslims have been destroyed during the communal riots. It has created fear, anxiety and sense of insecurity among Muslims. They have been marginalized from education and don't want to send their girls for education in communally sensitive areas.<sup>17</sup>
6. Muslim leaders have been busy in religious and identity-based issues. They never considered the need to empower Muslims through secular education or motivating the community to use education as a powerful tool to achieve progress in life like other SRCs. Thus, Muslims became unfit for the posts and positions which required higher education degrees, knowledge of Hindi, English, Mathematics and Science.

7. Lack of awareness and motivation about high profile competitive exams like IIT, IIM, AIIMS, UPSC, SPSC, etc. Muslim youth do not aim to be selected in these exams and very few of them appear at entry level of these examinations.
8. Muslim students prefer to study in minority-run schools and colleges, most of them are not run as centre of excellence due to paucity of funds. This is responsible for the lack of demand for them in the job market.
9. The opportunities in the gulf counties have become huge attraction for middle class Muslims. There was mass exodus of Muslim youths with incomplete education to gulf countries. From the 1970s this factor has been the single most important reason for the Muslims to lag behind in higher education and government employment.<sup>18</sup>
10. Perception of fairness is the lowest among Muslims. They feel that they are discriminated against in education and government employment. Muslim youths avoid competing in most of the high profile competitive examinations. In a study published in the *Economic and Political Weekly* in 2007, the authors responded to 548 job advertisements from private sectors with three identical applications – one with a UCH name, one with a Dalit and one with a Muslim name. Although applications were otherwise identical, the Dalit name was approximately one-third less likely to get called for an interview and the Muslim name was two third less likely. The study concluded that in the public and private sectors, Muslims are denied opportunities across the board (<http://kafila.org/2014/04/12/some-myths-about-muslims/>).
11. Women education is grossly neglected due to various reasons. It has never been considered necessary for gaining employment and their empowerment.
12. Low political representation of Muslims is responsible for absence of favourable treatment or reservation.
13. In a democracy, it is the duty of the state to ensure equal representation of all SRCs in government employment. It is also expected from the state to study the reason of under-representation and initiate policy initiatives to address the

situation. No such initiatives have been taken with view to enhance Muslim representation.

## GOVERNMENT SCHEMES

### CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SCHEMES/GUIDELINES

1. The GoI issued guidelines for giving special consideration in the recruitment for minorities in government, railways, nationalized banks, PSUs, etc., on 8 January 2007. Since then, recruitment of minorities has been monitored on annual basis. However, the share has not gone up. In the absence of clear-cut policies like reservation, we do not hope this guideline is going to help increase the share (*The Times of India*, 7 June 2012).
2. *Free Coaching and Allied Scheme*: It aims to empower the minorities, enhance their skills and capabilities to make them employable in government jobs, industries, services or getting admission in universities/technical institutions. Earlier the scheme was being implemented for SCs, OBCs and minorities. A new scheme called 'Free Coaching and Allied Assistance' is being implemented by the MMA for minority candidates. However, the budgetary allocation and number of students benefited have been very low. See Table 13.10. Average cost of coaching per student in 2006-7 was Rs. 6,000 which became Rs. 37,196 in 2014-15. There is no audit about the success of the students. Also coaching centres are selected without proper screening where quality of the centre and teachers is not verified.
3. *Nai Udaan*: It aims to provide financial support to the minority candidates clearing Prelims of UPSC, Staff Selection Commission (SSC) and SPSC to adequately equip them to compete for appointment. Under the scheme every year up to a maximum of 800 candidates (Muslims: 584, Christians: 96, Sikhs: 80, Buddhists: 32 and Parsis: 8) are given direct financial support of Rs. 50,000 for Gazetted and Rs. 25,000 for non-Gazette posts to candidates who clear Prelim exams.<sup>19</sup>

TABLE 13.10: DETAILS OF FREE COACHING  
AND ALLIED SCHEME

*(Amount in crore)*

Year	Students Benefited	Amount Released
2006-7	690	0.414
2007-8	4,097	5.742
2008-9	5,522	7.300
2009-10	5,532	11.219
2010-11	4,845	14.373
2011-12	7,880	15.980
2012-13	6,716	13.997
2013-14	9,997	23.664
2014-15	6,314*	23.486

Source: MMA website.

Note: \*First half of 2014-15 (1st List).

#### Achievements in 2013-14:

UPSC	:	121 students @ Rs. 50,000
SPSC	:	195 students @ Rs. 50,000
SSC CGL	:	167 students @ Rs. 25,000

#### Achievements in 2014-15:

UPSC	:	176 students @ Rs. 50,000
SPSC	:	224 students @ Rs. 50,000
SSC CGL	:	386 students @ Rs. 25,000

However, Muslims have failed to take benefit. In 2014, 176 students were selected who had cleared the UPSC prelim (76 Muslims, 49 Christian, 4 Sikh, 5 Buddhist and 44 Jain). Similarly for SSC 386 students were selected out of which 56 were Muslims, 305 Christians, 1 Buddhist and 3 Jain students (*Inquilab*, 24 March 2015).

4. *Efforts to Increase Representation in Recruitment of Central Para-Military Force (CPMF)*: While minorities constitute around 19 per cent of the population, their share in the CPMF is about 6.5 per cent. In 2012, the Centre had decided to organize special drives

to recruit more minorities in CPME. The government had also decided to remove flaws in the recruitment process so that more members of the minority communities could be recruited.<sup>20</sup> In October 2013, then central government had declared that there were 70,000 posts vacant in 7 CPMFs, viz. Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), Border Security Force (BSF), Indo-Tibetan Border Police (ITBP), Sashastra Seema Bal (SSB), Central Industrial Security Force (CISF), National Security Guard (NSG) and Assam Rifles (AR) and it would organize special camps in areas with SMP to ensure adequate representation of minorities.<sup>21</sup> However, it is pity to note that neither special drives were taken nor did the recruitment procedure simplify nor the camps have been organized in such areas.

#### STATE GOVERNMENT SCHEMES

In August 2013, UP had decided for headcount of Muslim employees in local bodies and municipal corporations to ensure 'more participation of minorities at senior and responsible positions in the government'. The UP Urdu Academy, in June 2014, decided to start 'Urdu IAS Coaching Centre' in which candidates appearing at UPSC exam with Urdu as the language of essay, could receive coaching. In October 2013, the Manipur government decided to start free coaching for engineering, medical and CS examinations for minority students. In WB, the WBMDFC prepares students for the UPSC, WB Civil Service (WBCS) and other gazette post exams in collaboration with Aliah University. It has also decided to provide free information for jobs as well as coaching to minority youths for the Group-D jobs such as constable and security guards in government and private sectors. The related information has been uploaded on the WBMDFC website ([www.wbmdfc.org](http://www.wbmdfc.org)). The TMC manifesto of 2016 promises to start a scheme to provide financial assistance to 100 minority students who take UPSC coaching in Delhi (TCN: 26 March 2016). In Maharashtra, on 19 June 2013, the state had approved the proposal to start 'Maulana Azad Free Coaching and Guidance Scheme' to give free coaching to 4,000 minority candidates every year for the different government jobs.

For the scheme to be implemented properly, the government had decided to open 7 centres at Mumbai, Thane, Amravati, Aurangabad, Nagpur, Pune and Nashik. It had also decided to spend Rs. 5.49 crore annually for the coaching scheme. The bifurcation of seats would be: 250 for UPSC, 250 for MPSC, MPSC Group-C 500 seats, 400 for banking, 600 for CET and 2,000 for special classes.<sup>22</sup> The first coaching centre was inaugurated at Anjuman Islam, Mumbai on 4 January 2015. Whether other centres are opened and what is the state of implementation of the scheme? The information can be obtained through RTI. In August 2009, the state government had directed all district collectors to select 100 minority candidates (70 Muslims, 20 Buddhists, 4 Christians, 4 Jains and one each from Sikh and Parsi community) and give them special training to make them eligible to be recruited in police. The state government appointed District Collectors in every district to head the committee to select the candidates. A government advertisement released on 19 February 2014 claimed that 12,355 such candidates had been given the special pre-recruitment training. An evaluation study claimed that the scheme has failed to make any positive impact. It has suffered a setback as only few institutions came forward to impart the training in spite of good incentives. This can be gauged from the fact that in Pune district just 27 students underwent the pre-recruitment training and only two made it in the final list in 2013.<sup>23</sup> The Bihar Hajj Committee, with financial support from the Minority Development Department of Bihar is providing free coaching for BPSC examination. Every year 50 candidates are selected who are provided with free accommodation, library facility and other academic support.

#### COMMUNITY'S EFFORT FOR UPSC

Concerned at the very low share of Muslims in the CS, the community and religious leaders have pooled resources and established academies to give coaching to UPSC aspirants.

1. *Hamdard Study Circle (HSC)*: This is considered the first coaching and guidance centre for UPSC aspirants of Muslim and

- other minorities that was started by Late Hakeem Abdul Hameed Saheb in 1992. It provides coaching for all three stages of CS examination and has a well equipped campus with all facilities. Its total intake is up to 50 boys and 10 girls (<http://www.hamdardstudycircle.in/#>).
2. *Sir Syed Coaching and Guidance Centre*: The ZFI started it in 2007 for meritorious and deserving candidates. Selected candidates are provided accommodation and food at ZFI's hostels and are encouraged to take admission into premier coaching institutes such as Vajiram, Synergy, Sri Ram, Ensemble and Interactions ([www.zakatindia.org/civil-services.html](http://www.zakatindia.org/civil-services.html)).
  3. *IAS & Allied Services Coaching and Guidance Cell, Hajj House, Mumbai*: It was started by Hajj Committee's former CEO Mohammad Owais in 2009 to give coaching to students from the minority community. The full-fledged coaching began from January 2010. Fifty students are selected through an entrance test ([www.hajjcommittee.com](http://www.hajjcommittee.com)). The MMA, under the current regime, has decided to discontinue this centre citing some audit objection by the CAG.
  4. *Centre for Coaching and Career Planning, JMI, New Delhi*: It is funded by the UGC which offers free coaching and residential facilities to candidates of SC, ST, women and minorities. Students are selected after an All India written test and the centre provides library facilities and coaching in General Studies, History, Public Administration, Geography, Sociology and Urdu ([www.jmi.ac.in](http://www.jmi.ac.in)).
  5. *The Crescent Academy, New Delhi*: It is a division of Maulana Abdur Rahim Education Trust and was started by Maulana Fazlur Rahim Mujaddidi. It provides coaching and put emphasis on creating a sound academic environment ([www.cacademy.org](http://www.cacademy.org)).
  6. *MANUU Residential Coaching Academy*: MANUU-Civil Services Examination (MANUU-CSE) Residential Coaching Academy has been started in MANUU, Hyderabad campus to impart coaching to minority candidates and women. Candidates are selected through written and interview test ([www.manuu.ac.in](http://www.manuu.ac.in)).
  7. *Azhagiya Kadan IAS Academy*: This is run on the third floor of

a mosque called 'Makka Masjid' situated on Anna Salai road of Chennai and was started in 2011 by the chief Imam of the mosque Maulana S. Shamshuddin Qasinin. It selects meritorious students and gives them residential and coaching facility. Prelim classes are held in the mosque and it sources teachers from Shankar IAS Academy for mains examination. The effort of this *masjid* is hailed all over India as this is not only used for religious activity but also for producing civil servants.<sup>24</sup>

8. The US-based Indian Muslim Relief and Charities (IMRC) has started Challenger Civil Services Academy in Hyderabad. It provides hostel and academic facilities, where students can start the preparation right after the 10th Board examination.

Besides these big coaching institutes, the forward looking persons have started institutes and career guidance centre for other government services. Such centres are being opened in small towns also. Besides, people have been using innovative methods to motivate students and create awareness about the CS in the society.

1. *Har Ghar Se Ek Civil Servant*: 'Har ghar se ek civil servant' (One civil servant from every household) campaign was launched in July 2013 in Malegaon. Five prominent NGOs came together and launched the campaign to create awareness among the children. The NEWS from Malegaon and MMERC from Mumbai are taking lead. Besides presenting the UPSC successful candidates as role models, these NGOs intend to organize a series of programmes to inspire students.<sup>25</sup>
2. *Ab Tumhari Baari Hai*: 'Ab Tumhari Baari Hai' (Now it is your turn) is the first stage play written in Urdu to motivate the children across Maharashtra for the CS examination. It is based on the book *Rahnuma-e-Civil Services* written by famous academician Ashfaq Omar Sahab. Written and directed by Iqbal Niazi, the play has three imaginary characters: Helplessness, Hopelessness and Inferiority Complex. These characters try to dominate hearts and minds of children. To fight with them there are three positive characters: Self-Confidence, strong aim and objective and perseverance. Finally positive characters win and light the lamp of hope and children are motivated.<sup>26</sup>



## COMMUNITY'S OTHER INITIATIVES

Other community initiatives include coaching for lower group jobs, career guidance workshops, organizing job fairs and guidance for police recruitment. These are stray initiatives and can be organized on a bigger scale for achieving bigger results. AMU former Vice-Chancellor, Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Zameeruddin Shah encouraged the senior secondary students through a coaching programme run by UGC Academic Staff College to prepare for the NDA written test. Peace Foundation, an NGO from Patna, has started a scholarship scheme as an interest free loan to minority students who appear at SSC, Railway Recruitment Boards, banking and other competitive examinations. Candidates are selected through a screening test and are admitted to the best coaching centres in Patna (Contact email: [peacefoundationbihar@gmail.com](mailto:peacefoundationbihar@gmail.com)). SIO Mumbra unit organized a career guidance workshop for graduate and PG students on 26 May 2013 to spread awareness and guide the students about UPSC, MPSC and other government service exams and also the soft skills required to survive in the corporate world. Aaghaz Foundation run by Mazhar Farooqui, a Deputy Editor at XPRESS, Gulf News in UAE, runs a Lucknow Guidance and Coaching Centre (LGCC) where classes are held to prepare students for various government employment exams. Association of Muslim Professionals (AMP) and Khidmat Organization organized a job fair on 23 May 2015 in Andheri, Mumbai. Around 1,100 job aspirants and 20 big companies took part in it. Jobs of sales, marketing, bank offices, administration and other related jobs were available at a single location. For increasing Muslims share in Police, the JUH had decided to open coaching centres in various parts of UP where coaching would be provided to young Muslims. Raees Qazi, a former footballer, was arrested in January 2009 on charges of participating in communal riots of 2008 at Dhule in Maharashtra. He was dumped in jail and as usual dubbed a SIMI agent by the local media. He was granted bail after 55 days as charges were all trumped up. When he got out, he decided that instead of being bitter about the episode, he would do something positive and he set up a coaching centre to help Muslim youth to join the police force. So far he

has trained over 750 students of which 25 have joined the police as constables. Qazi says, 'I thought increasing the number of Muslims in the police force could at least help rein in the hostility a little'.<sup>27</sup> Ex-MLA Baba Siddiqui and present MLA Aslam Shaikh, Federation of Minority NGO member Salim Alware and M.A. Khalid and other forward looking members of the community in Maharashtra have been organizing guidance camps and coaching centres for police recruitment.

### SUCCESS STORIES

There is no dearth of competitive talent in Muslims. Due to economic backwardness, lack of motivation and proper guidance, they are unable to pass the government recruitment exams. On the other hand, there are bright and talented students who fight all odds and purely on the basis of high motivation, persistence and hardwork, crack tough competitive exams and create story of motivation for others. There are very senior and decorated officers who have been working at important positions and inspiring the students to become like them. Javed Usmani, topped the CS exam in 1978 and was appointed as Chief Secretary of UP. Shamsheer Sharief, a 1974 batch IAS officer, was appointed as Secretary General of the Rajya Sabha. Asif Ibrahim, a 1977 batch IPS officer became IB chief in 2012. Amir Subhani, who topped the CS examination in 1987, was recently appointed as Principal Secretary (Home) in Bihar. Shah Faesal, who topped the CS exam in 2010, is working as DM in J&K. Athar Aamir of Anantnag became the 2nd topper in the CS in 2016 and the youngest ever to qualify from Kashmir.

Every candidate who makes it to the CS exam (IAS, IPS, IFS or Allied Services) is a story in himself. Umme Fardina Adil of Guwahati became the first Muslim girl from North-East to clear the CS in 2013. Zainab Sayeed cleared the CS exam with 107 rank and became the first woman from WB who cracked the UPSC. Hammad Zafar, a madrasa graduate from Jamia Salafiyah, Benares cleared the CS in 2013. Shahid Ansari Nadvi and Dr. Waseemur Rahman Qasmi are two other *madrasa* graduates who cleared the

same. Ansar Ahmad Shaikh, son of an auto rickshaw driver from Jalna of Maharashtra, cracked the CS with 361 rank in 2016. Shockingly, he had been forced to change his name to a Hindu surname in order to get accommodation and food in Pune without facing any discrimination. (*The Indian Express*, 11 May 2016). Abdul Qayum, son of a school teacher who started his education from a *madrasa*, graduated from IIT Kanpur and cracked the Indian Forest Service exam in 2012.

Muhammad Nazir Hossain of North 24 Parganas and son of a farmer, topped the WBCS (Executive) Examination 2013 of Group 'A' and possibly became the first Muslim to achieve the distinction. That year 14 Muslim candidates were selected out of the total 113. Arshi Hashmat of Kolkata topped the WB Judicial Service Examination 2014 and became only the second Muslim to top the coveted exam. In 2008, Bushra Ali had topped the same. A total of 19 Muslims (7 girls) were selected in the total 117 candidates in that examination. Rupsina Parvin of North 24 Parganas and daughter of a retired government employee, joined the police force directly as sub-inspector after qualifying the SPSC exam of WB held in 2012. She is still continuing her study and wants to become an IPS officer. Heena Ansari of Washim district in Maharashtra and wife of a farmer, cracked the MPSC Income Tax exam with 10th rank and topped in the woman category.

Abdullah Rashid Faqih of Pune topped the Company Secretary examination in 2013 by scoring 76.75 per cent marks in CS Professional Programme. Ayesha Aziz, originally from Baramulla and based in Mumbai, became the first Kashmiri girl to be the commercial pilot. Syeda Salva Fatima of Hyderabad and daughter of a bakery owner became the first Muslim woman to hold a Commercial Pilot's License (CPL). On the appeal of various Muslim leaders, the CM of Telangana sanctioned Rs. 35.5 lakh for her further training to become eligible for job in an airline (<http://twocircles.net/2015mar24/1427203173.html>). Mumtaz Qazi is a motorman in Central Railway and possibly the first Muslim women motorman of India. Her name has been recorded in Limca Book of Records and BBC London has made a documentary film on her life and achievements (*Inquilab*, 7 March 2012). In Mumbai, AC local

trains are being started and Mumtaz would possibly become the first woman train driver. Fakhra Qureshi of Jhansi in UP, became possibly the first woman assistant Loco Pilot in 2012. After completing her training she has been appointed as Assistant Loco Pilot for long distance trains in Western Railway, Mumbai Division.

## SOME SUGGESTIONS

### SUGGESTIONS: STATE LEVEL

In a democracy, it is the duty of the state to ensure proper representation of all SRCs in the government employment to have a participatory governance. The PSEC recommended 'Government-led planned and targeted recruitment drives in a time-bound manner'.<sup>28</sup> The government should undertake planned and time-bound recruitment drives with focus on improving the representation of Muslims in all types of government employment by amending the recruitment procedures. In 2008, the then CM of Haryana Bhupinder Singh Hooda had laid stress on creating a special Mewat cadre for the purpose of recruitment to fill up posts in the departments of Education and Health. The step was intended to improve the share of Muslims in the government machinery in the district.<sup>29</sup> Similar steps can be taken by other states and the Centre to create special cadres of officers in the districts where population of Muslims is more than 50 per cent of the district (38 district as per 2011 census). Evolving a procedure to nominate Muslims in public positions of power could be a step to motivate Muslim candidates to join government employment. The government should include Arabic and Persian in the list of optional subjects for CS main examination. Urdu is the mother tongue of majority of Muslims in the states where a significant share of the Muslim population is found, such as Assam, Bihar, UP, Maharashtra, Telangana, Kerala, MP and Delhi. Generally, the written part of the recruitment process of police and para-military forces is taken in Hindi or the regional languages. The government may include Urdu as a medium of written test of these recruitments. In this way employability of Muslims would increase in police and CPMFs.

In 2011, Amin Patel, a Congress MLA from Mumbai demanded the same of the then CM. To collect data to know the deprivation level of a particular caste, community or a social group is the basic duty of the government and first step to ensure social justice. Looking at the pathetically low level representation of Muslims in the Indian army, the government should start headcount of Muslims in the army. Religion and Region-based regiment system in the army has created huge imbalance as to representation of different religious groups and between regions. The government should do away with this system and create a more homogenous and all representative army. The government can also devise some methods to recruit more Muslims in the army for inclusive growth and mainstreaming. Pathetically low representation of Muslims in the government employment can't be corrected through small-small schemes, cosmetic announcements and lip services. 71 years back socio-economic condition of SCs/STs was worse. Due to reservation their share in the government is proper and their socio-economic and educational condition is improving fast. Today Muslims' socio-economic and educational condition is at par with SCs and with respect to some indicators it is worse than that of SCs and STs. This tells us that Muslims need affirmative action in government employment and education. Therefore, the government should give reservation to deprived sections of Muslims in jobs and educations exactly on the same pattern of reservation given to caste/communities of the Hindu religion.

#### SUGGESTION: COMMUNITY LEVEL

The central and state governments give advertisement to recruit huge number of candidates for railways, army, banks, posts & telegraph, police, CPMFs, revenue, health and various other departments. Muslim candidates, firstly do not have access to these information and those who come to know about it, don't know how to apply for the job online or offline. So, there is an urgent need to establish 'Government Job Information Centre' in every ward, *mohalla* and villages dominated by Muslims. NGOs and

social groups can take lead and establish such centres. Besides uploading current information about recruitment, they should update it regularly and guide the students about filling the forms and how to appear at the examination. According to Muslim intellectuals, to increase the share in the government jobs, Muslim candidates need to appear in large numbers in the competitive examinations. For this awareness at the school level would be helpful. Muslims who run schools and colleges, can prepare presentation and create awareness and motivate students even at school level. Besides many big coaching centres for UPSC, a number of small ones are mushrooming in big as well as small cities. These small centres lack infrastructure facilities and good teachers. Motivated and self-driven students are not selected and thus the whole purpose is defeated. In spite of so many coaching centres, our representation is not increasing in the CS. Giasuddeen Babu Khan, a businessman from Hyderabad, says, 'To create the leaders, the exercise should start at the primary level'. His clear indication is to start well equipped mainstream schools which could prepare the students in such a way that they would be able to appear at the CS examination with confidence. Therefore, rather than concentrating on coaching centres, the community should focus on opening good quality schools. The community's effort should be to increase the number of students at the preliminary stage. The second strategy is that the preparation for UPSC must start from the school days. This has already began in Malappuram of Kerala. Molayil Ashraf has taken this initiative. Two batches of 150 students of class VIII and IX attend the CS foundation course on Sundays and holidays. The eight-year course will last until they graduate and subsequently the eligible will be enrolled in CS coaching centres.<sup>30</sup> In no State, the share of Muslims in job match their share in the state population. On the other hand, the central and state governments recruit thousands of people in other departments like railway, police, para-military forces, banks, health, etc. Therefore, dedicated coaching centres for preparing students for these departments should also be established. These centres can focus on limited jobs and should also concentrate on capacity building.

## SUGGESTION: INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

Government officers or employees are recruited through competitive exams that require high level of academic knowledge and talent. Thousands of students appear but only a few hundred are finally selected. Without motivation, hardwork and highly focused attitude, it is impossible to crack these exams. On the individual level, one should be highly motivated and do hardwork for these exams. Candidates who are self-driven are more likely to be winners. Recruitment in police, para-military and army requires not only academic knowledge but physical stamina as well. Therefore, Muslim candidates who wish to be selected in the police department should do regular practice for physical test along with written test. There are many Muslims families across India, whose many generations have been serving in police and army. The Shaikh family from Pune is one such family. Its five generations have served in the police force. 22 members have been recruited so far. Of them 8 died, 3 are retired and 11 are still serving. One should take inspiration from such traditions.<sup>31</sup>

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## Wakf Properties

### INTRODUCTION

Islam is a religion of social justice which strongly subscribes to the notion of endorsing socio-economic and welfare-friendly practices. It is this very proposition that engraved in Muslims heart and mind the significance of participating in numerous social and virtuous activities. The concept of Wakf (endowment) which derives its roots from 14 centuries back, embodies this very ideal of Islam. Generous Muslims, adhering to this principle, often bequeath large and valuable acreage of properties in the name of Allah. The proceeds from these properties are dedicated to meet the exclusive needs of the poor and maintenance of the bequeathed property. This type of property given by Muslims is called 'Wakf'. In juristic terms, Wakf is a special kind of philanthropic deed in perpetuity that is exercised in a non-perishable asset by designating the specific categories of beneficiaries to receive its usufructs or revenues. The objectives of Wakf are: (1) Establishing, maintaining and fostering the educational institutions, hostels, libraries, sports facilities, etc.; (2) Awarding of scholarships so as to promote education; (3) Providing health care, relief and financial aid to all poor including the victims of communal riots and natural disasters; (4) Construction of *musafir khanas* (inns) and marriage hall; (5) Maintenance of mosques, *dargahs*, graveyards and consolidation of Wakf properties; (6) Financial support to poor widows, indigent and physically handicapped; (7) Arranging marriage of indigent girls and maintenance of divorced women; and (8) Payment of salary to *imams* and *muezzins* as ordered by the SCI.

The person who dedicates his or her property is known as Wakif

(endower) and the person nominated by the Wakif to manage the affairs of the Wakf is known as Mutawalli (Manager).

Mutawallis are mere managers of the Wakfs and the State Wakf Boards (SWBs) have been given complete authority over Wakf for management, maintenance and development. Many a time, the SWBs fail in fulfilling the objectives of the Wakfs for which they are created. Till June 2014, the Punjab Wakf Board had not opened a single Islamic school (*madrasa*) for religious education of Muslims in the state. There was a plan to open a *madrasa* in Jalandhar but nothing has been done.<sup>1</sup> At least one thousand women are listed in Delhi Wakf Board for widow pension. The Board has not been serious in giving away widow pension to deserving women and has been trying to delay the process by indulging in long official procedures.<sup>2</sup> Instead of giving pension from the Board's fund, the officials were trying to connect the widows with Delhi government's Widow Pension Scheme. There is no uniform policy for giving away pension to Muslim widows. SWBs of only three states, Bihar, Manipur and WB give some pension to widows or divorcee women. The case of Chhattisgarh is interesting where a decision to this effect was taken way back in 2005, but it has not been implemented due to lack of funds.<sup>3</sup> Due to general apathy and lack of funds, other states are not implementing the main objectives of the Wakf. On the other hand, there are many SWBs which genuinely make effort to fulfil the objectives. The Tamil Nadu SWB is a case in point. In 2010, it had planned to set up a medical college-cum-hospital of 300 beds in collaboration with a *madrasa* in Mayiladuthurai. S. Abdul Rahman, then Chairman of the Board had also plans to start many schools and colleges in different parts of TN and a law college at Arcot.<sup>4</sup>

Historically, most of the Indian Wakfs were made during the regimes of Muslim Sultans, Nawabs and Mughal emperors. Till the end of the Mughal period, Wakfs were managed by nominated Mutawallis and supervised by appointed Qazis (Islamic Jurists) in accordance with the Sharia law. However, with the fall of the Mughal dynasty and advent of the British rule, Qazis were replaced by English judges and the special nature of the Wakf was suspended. Muslim interest suffered a lot and many important properties were

grabbed by the British rulers. In independent India, after initial loss of Wakf properties on large scale, it was hoped that the government would do something to check the loss and improve the management of Wakfs. However, through the Wakf Act, 1954 the government acquired much control over the Wakf affairs and due to political intervention and manipulation, corruption started on a large scale. Private occupation of Wakf properties continued and government also occupied many properties. During the 40 years period after 1954, only late Indira Gandhi wrote a letter to all CMs to improve and preserve these properties. In response to agitated voice of the community, the government amended the Act in 1995, but it didn't become effective. In the post-Sachar era, the GoI passed the Wakf (Amendment) Act, 2013. However, recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC), Rajya Sabha Select Committee and the SCR have not been incorporated and this Act is also not much effective.

#### COMPREHENSIVENESS OF WAKF PROPERTIES

As per section 4 of the Wakf Act, 1995, the state government would appoint a Survey Commissioner and required number of Additional and Assistant Survey Commissioners for the purpose of making a survey of Wakfs existing in the state at the date of commencement of the Act. The survey would contain: (1) Total number of Sunni and Shia Wakfs in the state; (2) Nature and objects of each Wakf; (3) Gross income of the property comprised in each Wakf; (4) The amount of land revenue, cesses, rates and taxes payable in respect of each Wakf; (5) Expenses incurred and the pay or other remuneration of the Mutawallis of each Wakf; and (6) Other particulars relating to Wakf. As per section 4(6) of the Act, the state may go for second or subsequent survey after expiry of 20 years of the previous survey. However, it is pity to note that survey of Wakf properties have not been completed in many states. In some states, it has been done but entire information as required by the law has not been gathered. There is no correct estimate of the total number of Wakf, their value, etc., in the country.

The Sachar Committee had not received complete information about the Wakf properties. The latest information was not available, as in many states such surveys were not updated. Only 15 states and 2 UTs responded to the call of the Committee. As per the SCR (Table 11.1), there were more than 4.9 lakh registered Wakfs spread over different states whose total area was estimated at about 6 lakh acres and the book value at about Rs. 6,000 crore. According to an estimate, as per landholdings, after Defence and Railways, Wakf Boards are the third biggest institutions in India. In the post-Sachar era, some properties have been freed in some states and thus the total number of Wakfs would have gone up. The book value of the Wakf properties is about half a century old. In 2005-6, the Sachar Committee, based on the then market prices, estimated the value of those properties at about Rs. 1.2 lakh crore (1,200 billion). It also said that if these properties were put to efficient use they could generate at least a minimum return of 10 per cent which was around Rs. 1,200 crore per annum.

The Central Wakf Council (CWC) has asked the SWBs to evaluate Wakf properties in cities at current market prices. After evaluation, the value of Wakf properties in some big cities are as follows:

1. Kolkata : Rs. 62,000 crore
2. Delhi : Rs. 28,000 to 30,000 crore (500 acre)
3. Hyderabad : Rs. 23,000 crore (7,000 acre)
4. Mumbai : Rs. 7,000 crore (1,200 properties)
5. Chennai : Rs. 8,500 crore (412 properties)
6. Bengaluru : Rs. 3,600 (215 properties)<sup>5</sup>

Although on the lower side the value of Wakf properties only in 6 major metros is at Rs. 1.5 lakh crore. The value of city as well as agricultural properties has at least become triple since 2005-6. Thus, the value of all Wakf properties in India would be at least Rs. 3.6 lakh crore (3,600 billion). These are located at city centres and if they are put to efficient and marketable use, they can generate at least a minimum returns of 10 per cent which comes around 3,600 crore per annum. This is a huge fund and could be sufficient for socio-economic and educational development of Muslims.

UNAUTHORIZED OCCUPATION/  
ENCROACHMENT BY PRIVATE PERSONS

In 2004, the then Congress government of Y.S.R. Reddy allotted 1,630 acre prime Wakf land worth Rs. 32,000 crore of Dargah Hussain Shah Wali in the suburb of Hyderabad to corporates and MNCs at throwaway price via AP Industrial Infrastructure Corporation (APIIC). It allotted 400 acre to Emmar, 108 acre to Lanco Hills, 54 acre to Microsoft, 50 acre to Infosys, 30 acre to Wipro, 5 acre to VJIL and 7 acre to Polaris and others by way of auction and nominations, even after opposition and protest from the AP SWB. The Board took the matter to the Wakf tribunal which in 2011 declared the government action null and void. The government and affected companies approached the High Court and challenged the tribunal's order. The HC, in April 2012, upheld the tribunal's order and declared the land as Wakf property. With the backing of then state and the central government, the MNCs filed a Special Leave Petition in the SCI challenging the HC order. In May 2012, the SCI put a stay on the HC order allowing Lanco Hills and other MNCs to carry on construction work and business. Though SCI has given some relief to the SWB, the matter is still pending.<sup>6</sup> During earlier TDP Government in AP under Chandrababu Naidu, 1,100 acre of Wakf land at Shamshabad was allotted to Airport Development Authority of India for construction of a new airport. That land pertained to serial no. 99/1 on Wakf record belonging to Dargah Baba Sharfuddin popularly known as Pahade Shariff. The land was allotted to the Airport Authority neither by taking any prior consent of the SWB nor by providing any subsequent compensation to it.<sup>7</sup> A scam of illegal sale of a graveyard land in Nizamuddin's Tikona Park has been exposed.<sup>8</sup> There is Wakf land near Bibi Fatima Sam dargah situated in Kakanagar that is in occupation by a non-Muslim named Hari. He has sold the land to another person by creating a third party and illegal construction was going on the land in 2013.<sup>8</sup> With the connivance of Delhi Municipal Corporation, Delhi Wakf Board and local police, a multi-storey building was blatantly being constructed on Wakf land registration number 554 in Basti Hazrat

Nizamuddin. In this regard then Board's Chairman Rana Parveen Siddiqui said that the illegal construction would be stopped and legal action be taken against the occupier.<sup>9</sup>

In Delhi one cannot buy anything at Re. 1. However, there are Wakf properties in Delhi which have been given on 1 rupee rent. There are 86 Wakf properties in Delhi whose rent is between Re. 1 and Rs. 11; 110 properties whose rent is between Rs. 11 and 21 and 127 properties whose rent is between Rs. 22 and 31. The list of these properties can be seen on [www.beyond-headlines.in](http://www.beyond-headlines.in).<sup>10</sup> As stated above, two adjacent spaces in Nizamuddin are in fact hired by the World Education & Development Organization for Re. 1 each. Information provided by the Delhi Wakf Board reveals the highest arrear of Rs. 16,521 on Abdul Quddoos Siddiqui, President of the Nusratul Islam Education Society in old Delhi's Fateh Puri area. This has not been verified as at Re. 1 rent, such arrears seems impossible or perhaps they never paid the rent.<sup>11</sup> Uttarakhand has many Wakf properties and their value is estimated at around Rs. 800 billion. There is no proper survey of these properties and with the soaring prices, land mafia's have been trying to grab them. Many Wakf properties have been illegally occupied. Only in Dehradun, there are unauthorized occupation of Wakf properties located on Paltan Bazar, Dhamawla, Karanpur and AC market.<sup>12</sup> In Kailash Nagar area of Aurangabad in Maharashtra, several Wakf properties have been unauthorizedly occupied by private persons. When Aurangabad Municipal Corporation (AMC) started road widening and development of the area, it acquired those properties from the illegal occupiers. In lieu of these properties, the AMC allotted 85 plots in Harsul area to the occupiers without consulting the SWB.<sup>13</sup> 70 acre Wakf land attached to Nandkar Masjid situated at Nandkar village in Bhiwandi taluka in Thane district of Maharashtra is still being illegally occupied. The trustees of the mosque have filed 21 cases in different courts to get the land back but they have not succeeded so far.<sup>14</sup> In Nanded city of Maharashtra many prime Wakf properties are being illegally occupied by land mafias. Concerned Mutawallis have filed suits to recover them. In many cases, the judgement have come in favour of the Board, still Mutawallis are helpless to acquire land. These

are few instances of unauthorized occupation of Wakf properties by private persons, sometimes taking the benefit of negligence of Board officials and sometimes with their connivance.

#### UNAUTHORIZED OCCUPATION BY GOVERNMENTS AND ITS AGENCIES

This is done in three ways: (1) Construction of government offices on Wakf land without Board's consent; (2) Occupying Wakf land on nominal rent; and (3) Allotting land to private parties without the consent of SWBs. In Box no. 11.2 of the SCR, Wakf properties occupied by the state governments and their agencies are given.

In post-Sachar era, as per information received under RTI, about 10 acre of Qabristan Ahle Islam land was acquired by the Delhi government to build the Millennium Indraprastha Park. It is also learnt that Archeological Survey of India (ASI) has encroached upon at least 11 such graveyards in the capital alone ([www.beyondheadlines.in](http://www.beyondheadlines.in)). Renowned RTI activist on Muslim issues Intezar Naeem received information that UP government illegally occupied 32 Wakf properties belonging to the UP Sunni Central Wakf Board. Most of those occupations were made during the Congress rule in the state.<sup>15</sup> In Latur, Osmanabad, Nanded, Jalna, Parbhani and Aurangabad, 82 Wakf properties had been occupied by the government on which government and semi-government offices had been constructed which include Collectorate, Police Commissioner Office and Mahanagarpalika, etc.<sup>16</sup> It is said that a new building of Itwara police station in Nanded city of Maharashtra has been constructed on Wakf land. The construction is completed in spite of a stay order from the court (*Inquilab*, 14 June 2011).

The Sachar Committee has noted, 'In fact encroachment by the state on the Wakf lands, besides causing embarrassment to the authorities and emboldening private encroachers, has stood in the way of reform and reconstruction'. As early as in 1976, then PM Indira Gandhi had written letter to all CMs of the states to either vacate the Wakf land or pay lease or rent at market prices. There has been no such initiative by other PMs so far.

## OCCUPATION OF MOSQUES BY THE ASI

During medieval period, many Sultans and high ranking officials got constructed mosques for the sole purpose of offering *namaaz*. However, during the British rule, when the capital was shifted to Delhi, many mosques were razed and many occupied. During the partition days, from several areas of Delhi and so also from many places in the country, Muslim population was shifted entirely and important mosques situated in those areas became depopulated and were ruined. In the name of protection and preservation, the ASI has taken over the control of these mosques. 50 to 60 important mosques in Delhi and hundreds of mosques situated in Haryana, Punjab, Gujarat, UP, Maharashtra, etc., are being controlled by the ASI. Jamali Kamali Masjid, Makhdoom Shah, Begum Pura, Vazirabad mosque located on the bank of Yamuna River, Kotla mosque of Mubarakpur, etc., are some of these mosques.

As per the ASI, under the Ancient Monument and Archeological Sites and Remains (AMASR) Act, 1958, once a structure is declared a culturally protected monument 'no new practices' can be introduced. However, visits by religious leaders have revealed that all sorts of things happen in these monuments, with people getting drunk and abusing the sanctity of the places. They have become centre of anti-social elements and gambling and drinking is openly practised. Some mosques have been converted into play ground. At some places toilets were found. In some mosques idols of small sizes have been installed by the guards. Only thing which is forcefully prohibited is *namaaz*. Tourists are allowed with their boots but Muslims who go to pray barefoot are not allowed. In the name of protection, ASI has been doing nothing. Gazette notification show that they are Wakf properties. Community members and leaders have been agitating to take control of these mosques for many years. In March 1984, Muslim MPs agitated to get permission for *namaaz* in Safdarjung Tomb. Under mounting pressure, Indira Gandhi had deputed then External Affairs Minister P.V. Narsimha Rao to find a way out through talks with the agitating MPs. On 17 March 2009, around 200 *namaazi* entered into the Muhammadwali Masjid at Siri Fort for Friday prayer. On 23 March



2009, around 200 people entered to offer *namaaz* at Jamali Kamali mosque in the Qutub Minar complex.

In 2012, the AIMPLB constituted a committee consisting of Shakeel Shamdani, Dr. SQR Ilyas, Kamal Farooqui, Adv. Shakeel Syed, Advocate Shamshad, etc., to prepare a detail report on conditions of these mosques. The JUH constituted a review committee consisting of Maulana Hakimuddin Qasmi and others to review their conditions. It also planned to make a road map to free these mosques. The NCM also wants the government to allow prayers in mosques which are currently under ASI as protected monuments. When the NCM raised the matter in 2013 with then Culture Minister, the ASI was asked to carry out a survey of the upkeep of 31 mosques in Delhi.

Mosques are built solely for the purpose of performing *namaaz*. Once built it will remain a mosque forever. These are no doubt historical monuments but they have been notified as Wakf properties in the concerned Wakf Board's notification. Not permitting *namaaz* is the violation of the will of the person who built them. With a minor amendment in the AMASR Act these mosques can be handed over to the Wakf Boards and *namaaz* may be allowed. ASI will be given mandate to annually review the condition of these mosques and ensure that people don't make any changes in them.

#### CORRUPT PRACTICES IN WAKF DEALS

According to Islamic precepts, the ownership of Wakfs rests only with Allah, the Mutawallis are the managers and the usufruct is meant only for the poor and needy. These principles are not reflected in working of the SWBs and their dealings. There have been rising complaints that the management of Wakf land is plagued by corruption. Most of the SWBs are drowned in mismanagement and corruption. Wakf properties are systematically being plundered with the connivance of SWB officials, Mutawallis, land mafias and government officials. Wakf experts say that behind large-scale corruption and mismanagement toothless Wakf Acts of 1954 and 1995 were responsible. It is said that before 1995, prior permis-

sion of concerned district Judge was mandatory for every deal related to Wakf land. Now this power is available with the Board. Politicians put their stooges in SWBs which is the major cause of corruption. Some *modus operandi* are:

1. Builders or businessmen identify a Wakf property; they approach members and officials of the Board; the land is sold for a pittance; and Board members and officials get their cut.
2. Changing of use of land: Happens in the states where outright sale is not encouraged. Businessmen/builders approach board members; land is allotted on a ridiculously low lease; land use is changed to facilitate commercial exploitation; and members and officials of the Board pocket their cut.
3. Rent or lease agreements are made or renewed on a very cheap rates. Board officials receive their commission.
4. Sometimes revenue officials change the nature of the land with the connivance of the Board officials and then the land is sold on low price. Everybody gets the cut.
5. Mutawallis mismanage the Wakf properties in a number of ways and get involved in corrupt practices.
6. Private individuals sell Wakf lands by presenting themselves as real owners of the land.<sup>17</sup>

Some of the major scams/corrupt practices that came to notice in the post-Sachar era, are presented here. In 2012, Anwar Mani-paddy, then Chairman of the Karnataka State Minority Commission submitted a report on the Wakf land scam of Rs. 2 lakh crore to the then BJP government. The report established that major sales of Wakf properties to private parties took place between 2001 and 2012. The law was openly violated while selling or transferring land to private individuals. Report had named 38 Congress leaders. About 85 per cent of the misused properties were in Bengaluru.<sup>18</sup> Politicians, middlemen, SWB officials and land mafias had benefited from those deals. Some blamed that it was a politically motivated report but there is no harm to verify its content. The present government is expected to act on the report. Wakf Board CEO bribery has been a big issue in Maharashtra. Shaikh Kareem

of Nanded city had taken an agricultural land on lease from Wakf Board. The lease expired in 2013 and for renewal he approached N.D. Pathan, then CEO of Maharashtra SWB, who was also resident of Nanded. Pathan allegedly asked for a bribe of Rs. 1.5 lakh from Kareem to ensure the renewal. Kareem approached the Anti-Corruption Bureau (ACB) office in Nanded and subsequently a trap was arranged. On 29 June 2013, ACB officials caught N.D. Pathan red handed while accepting a bribe of Rs. 30,000 from Shaikh Kareem. Subsequently, the ACB searched the house of Pathan and seized Rs. 1 crore 30 lakh in cash, jewellery worth millions, and goods worth crores of rupees. The ACB also found bank account papers and property records from his house during the search.<sup>19</sup> Subsequently a case was registered against him and he was arrested. Following that, various Muslim parties/organizations including MIM, SDPI, MPJ and all major political parties including NCP demanded that all Wakf deals since 2011, the year N.D. Pathan joined as CEO, be investigated and proper legal action be taken against all persons involved in the scam. The then state government came under pressure and appointed K.B. Bhoge, former Revenue Commissioner of Aurangabad Division, as the inquiry officer to review all decisions taken by Pathan from May 2011 till July 2013, when he was arrested.

The SCR has pointed out that though there are conscientious Mutawallis, yet there are instances where Wakfs are treated by Mutawallis as their personal properties. Rentals of Wakf properties are negotiated at low levels in lieu of extraneous considerations. Mutawallis do not want to develop the Wakf properties in efficient ways. Proposals for educational institutions are replaced with construction of shops. The Haryana Wakf Board took under its direct control the properties of Hazrat Hafiz Shamsuddin Panipati Dargah when it received complaints against the Mutawalli. The Board clarified that it had been receiving continuous complaints that the handlers of Dargah were misusing its treasure and hence after preliminary inquiry, they decided to directly take control.<sup>20</sup> Mutawallis fall into the category of public servant and they can be booked under the Prevention of Corruption Act if they are found involved in corrupt practices.

## MISMANAGEMENT IN STATE WAKF BOARDS

The states have remained indifferent to Wakf matters as many states have not constituted SWBs as required by the Act. In some states, SWBs were constituted but their tenures have expired. However, boards have not been reconstituted and they are functioning on ad-hoc basis. Often SWBs are rehabilitation centres for petty Muslim politicians who otherwise can be given ministries/corporations. SWBs have become the centre of major allegations as their only duty is to issue NOC for transfer of land to politicians and builders. In these processes Board members receive pecuniary benefits.

## ALLEGATION AGAINST SWBs

Saba Naqvi writes about Wakf land scams and corrupt practices in deals of Wakf properties and highlights major allegations against SWBs. These need to be presented here as it is:

- Although Wakf is a national resource to be used to develop institutions and earn income for Muslims, it is so terribly managed that it is the only system where virtually no accountability is demanded.
- Cases of blatant corruption abound. Land is sold off for buildings, malls or factories for a pittance or given out for shockingly low rents to commercial interests.
- SWBs have become an avenue for political patronage. Muslims who cannot be accommodated in ministries are sent off here. They mostly never do anything for the community. In most cases, they are hand-in-glove with land mafia and encroachers.
- The 'Islam in danger' sentiment is crudely raised to hoodwink the Muslims and stop any real scrutiny of the function of boards, whose members are out to make a fast buck.
- The mess in the boards is also a reflection of the apathy of state governments. Many have not constituted boards; none have carried out a survey of Wakf properties as required by the Act.
- As a result of this mess, 70 per cent of Wakf properties are en-

croached upon, often in connivance with board members or government department over-seeing.<sup>21</sup>

In Maharashtra, for example, the state as per the Wakf Act 1995, constituted the board on 4 January 2002 and its tenure expired on 4 January 2007. Till June 2011, the board had not been constituted and it ran on ad-hoc basis. Several Muslim organizations demanded that all the decisions taken by the ad-hoc board since 2007 be declared illegal and the board should be constituted as per the Act. Similar situations, even worse, exist in other states.

#### CHARGES OF CORRUPTION

There are charges of corruption against board members and officials of various SWBs which relate to commission/bribe received in land deals, e.g. granting NOC, extending lease, transferring land, etc. A similar allegation was made against the Maharashtra SWB. Large tracts of land in Beed and Nanded among other places – measuring 25 acre – were found to be illegally sold, leased or exchanged for land on the outskirts of town. The A.T.A.K. Shaikh Commission was set up to inquire all the allegations. The Commission submitted its report in April 2011. Till September 2013 the report had been gathering dust and no action was taken. Following N.D. Pathan's episode, the then CM Prithviraj Chavan asked the concerned secretaries to present an ATR on the Commission Report.<sup>22</sup> The Report was presented in the Maharashtra Assembly in April 2015. It held Minorities Department's former officer S.S. Ali Qadiri, Wakf Board's former chairman late M.A. Aziz and M.Y. Patel guilty and responsible for selling Wakf properties to the industrialist at a throw-away prices and has recommended action against them.<sup>23</sup>

#### SWBs ARE IN BAD SHAPE

Functioning of most of the Wakf offices is not good. They are housed in dilapidated buildings where there is no proper provision for record keeping and waiting room for visitors. At many

places roofs of these offices show sign of seepage of water. The records of the Wakf properties are not well maintained and are prone to vagaries of weather, mutilation and loss. Many SWBs do not pay salaries to their employees regularly due to want of funds. The CEO of Maharashtra had not received his salary for the previous 5 months till April 2014. If this was the condition of the CEO, then one could imagine the condition of board's 33 employees across the state.<sup>24</sup> The SWBs are in complete disarray and the state governments need to improve their working by constituting the board and improving their working.

#### SUSPECTED WAKF LAND DEALS

Although the number of suspected deals pertaining to Wakf land is widely spread over all states in India, some important ones are presented here. The Windsor Manor Hotel of Bengaluru has been developed on a Wakf land. Till recently the hotel has been giving the board a rent of Rs. 12,000 a month for a property worth Rs. 500 crore. In Faridabad, the SWB has been giving out about 5 acre of land on 11-months lease for several years at a shockingly low rent between Rs. 500 and 1,500 per month. The land use has been altered by building a factory over it.<sup>25</sup> The Currimbhoy Ebrahimbhoy Khoja Orphanage, a charitable institution had sold the land to be used for the purpose of education of Khoja Muslim children to Antilia Commercial Private Limited (ACPL) in July 2002 for Rs. 21.05 crore. The Charity Commissioner had approved the sale in August 2002. The area of the land is 4,532 sq m on which Mukesh Ambani's famous house Antilia has been constructed. People say that the cost of the land in open market at that time was Rs. 500 crore. Since the land was a Wakf property and as the consent of the Maharashtra SWB had not been sought before the sale, it had issued a notice to ACPL in April 2004, asking why the land should not be restored to the board. However, the SWB withdrew the notice in March 2005 after the said orphanage paid Rs. 16 lakh to it.<sup>26</sup> Can a notice be withdrawn against the payment to the Wakf Board? Various Muslim organizations and individuals demanded that proper investigation be made

and action to be taken against conspirators. Ameen Idrisi, president of NGO Muslim-e-Hind says, 'I found that there is a criminality in the said transaction and fraud has been committed by Mukesh Ambani, office of the Charity Commissioner, Maharashtra Wakf Board and the trustees. All the accused had entered into criminal conspiracy and disposed of the Wakf property worth more than 200 crores.'<sup>27</sup> Idrisi demanded CBI inquiry into the whole matter. The ATR on the A.T.A.K. Shaikh Committee, presented in the Maharashtra State Assembly in April 2015, has asked the SWB to review 113 shady land deals that included the land given to Antilia group also. In 2011, then central government had asked the state to consider the option of giving the probe to the CBI. Nothing has been done so far. Haji Zakaria Haji Ahmed Patel Trust (Mohammedan Orphans and Asylum Fund) sold a Wakf land with C.S. No. 243, Tardeo Division to Neelkamal Realtors and Developers, a company of DB Realty Group. The property measuring 13,837 sq m was sold in 2004 for just Rs. 1 crore, the market value of which at that time was several hundred crores. According to documents the said property is a Wakf and as per the Wakf Act, 1995, once a property is declared a Wakf, it will remain so forever and cannot be sold and put to any other use.<sup>28</sup>

#### 123 PROPERTIES TRANSFERRED TO DELHI WAKF BOARD

The British government had acquired large tracts of land between 1911 and 1915 for construction of the new capital of Delhi. A number of Wakf properties had been acquired although compensation was not received or accepted in many such cases. The SCR highlighted the position of 123 properties which could be clearly classified as Wakf properties. Between 1974 and 1984 four high-powered committees examined the disputes and so also by a Group of Ministers comprising six ministries. After a number of consultations, the central government on 31 January 1984 under Indira Gandhi, approved that those 123 properties be transferred to the Delhi SWB. The VHP reached the High Court through a PIL against the decision. The HC on 1 June 1984 ordered that

status-quo be maintained and possession be retained by the government.

After the SCR highlighted the issue, it gained momentum and in 2011 the Delhi HC asked the Urban Development Ministry to look for a way to resolve the matter. After a lot of consultation and NOC from Urban Development Ministry, Home Department, Government of Delhi and concurrence from then Attorney General, then Union Cabinet on 2 February 2014 took final decision to denotify 123 properties and transfer the ownership to the Delhi Wakf Board.<sup>29</sup> 61 of those 123 properties were owned by the Land & Development Office (L&DO) under the Urban Ministry and 62 were with the Delhi Development Authority. Most of the properties are located around Lodhi Road, Mathura Road, Connaught Place, Man Singh Road, etc. List of these 123 properties can be seen on: [http://twocircles.net/2014mar06/central\\_government\\_return\\_123\\_wakf\\_properties.html](http://twocircles.net/2014mar06/central_government_return_123_wakf_properties.html).

The returning of 123 properties by the GoI was a historic step which was welcomed by all Muslim intellectuals. They have demanded that similar steps could be taken in respect of thousands of Wakf properties which are in possession of state governments.

#### THE WAKF (AMENDMENT) ACT, 2013

The Muslim Wakfs Bill, 1952, introduced as a private members Bill by Syed Mohammed Ahmed Kasmi in the Lok Sabha, was passed in 1954 and became the Wakf Act, 1954. This was the first Act to manage and regulate Wakf properties in India. Having received suggestions from Muslim organizations and government appointed commissions, the GoI amended and passed the Wakf Act, 1995, which is the principal Act today to regulate the Waqf properties. A select committee of the Rajya Sabha constituted in 1996, had looked into the working of SWBs. The SCR advocated some stringent measures to check encroachments and related matters. A JPC that presented its report in 2008, put forth major suggestions for streamlining Waqf management. Respecting the sentiments of Muslims in the post-Sachar era, the UPA-II, based on above recommendations, introduced the Waqf (Amendment) Bill,



2010 which was passed in the Lok Sabha in 2010. However, it was opposed in the Rajya Sabha as it had many weaknesses and was too weak to control the Wakf affairs. The Rajya Sabha referred the Bill to a select committee to suggest changes.

- |                   |   |  |
|-------------------|---|--|
| 27 August 2010    | : | The Bill was referred to the select committee of the Rajya Sabha.      |
| 17 December 2011  | : | The select committee led by Saifuddin Soz submitted its report.        |
| 19 August 2013    | : | The Rajya Sabha passed the Bill with select committee recommendations. |
| 5 September 2013  | : | The Bill was passed in the Lok Sabha.                                  |
| 20 September 2013 | : | It received the assent of the president.                               |
| 23 September 2013 | : | The Act was published in the official Gazette and became an Act.       |

The Waqf (Amendment) Act, 2013 has incorporated recommendations of the select committee that makes it strong and effective than the earlier principle Act. Some features of the Act are: (1) Not only Muslims, even non-Muslims can bequeath their property as Waqf; (2) No review of survey already done and thus new survey is to be completed within a year of this Act and list to be published within 6 months after the survey; (3) SWBs and the governments are jointly responsible for protection of Waqf properties; (4) Wakf Tribunals have been given more power; (5) The CWC has been given more powers; (6) A statutory obligation to ensure flow of information from SWBs and state governments to the CWC; (7) Prohibits sale, gift, exchange, mortgage or transfer of Waqf property (Section 104A); (8) Stipulates restoration of Waqf properties in occupation of government agencies to the Waqf Board (Section 104B); (9) It is binding on the District Magistrates (DM), SDM and ADM to implement and follow the orders passed by the SWBs;<sup>30</sup> and (10) Creation of a Board of Adjudication.

Although leaders and intellectuals have welcomed the Act, they have some reservations about its effectiveness. They have pointed out many of its weaknesses. Intellectuals and lawyers having expertise on Waqf matters, have denounced the Act for being toothless and ineffective. Twenty recommendations of the JPC on Waqf (2008)

and the SCR had not been included in the Waqf Bill 2010. When the Bill was referred to the Select Committee of the Rajya Sabha, it did not include 14 recommendations made by the JPC and the SCR. Those 14 recommendations have been mentioned by Dr. Zafar Mahmood who had been keeping close watch on the Bill. His three articles on the Waqf Bill are worth reading that describe the strength and weaknesses in the Act. The third article can be seen on: [http://twocircles.net/2012may02/future\\_waqf\\_bill\\_how\\_depends\\_committment\\_rajya\\_sabha\\_members.html](http://twocircles.net/2012may02/future_waqf_bill_how_depends_committment_rajya_sabha_members.html).

Major weaknesses of the Act are: (a) Bureaucratic interference in Waqf affairs: Any leasing proposal of more than one year period will be referred to the state government which can take a view there upon in 45 days; (b) Appointment of Waqf Survey Commissioner is an option for the states; (c) Full-time chairman of the CWC has not been accepted; (d) The provision of Indian Waqf Service is not included; (e) Magisterial powers to Waqf Boards is not given; (f) 'Waqf Premises' as suggested by the Sachar Committee has not be defined in the Act; (g) Exemption of Waqf Properties from Rent Control Acts is missing in the final Act; (h) Full-time Waqf Tribunal: The Sachar Committee had recommended that the chairman of the Waqf tribunal and its members should be full-time and the JPC added that the Waqf tribunal be given only one year to decide a dispute which does not figure in the Act.<sup>31</sup>

#### THE WAQF PROPERTIES (EVICTION OF UNAUTHORIZED OCCUPANTS) BILL, 2014

As per estimates, 70-80 per cent of Waqf properties have been encroached upon or illegally occupied. Following the demands of the community to check and control encroachment on Waqf properties, the central government had decided to bring a new stand alone legislation to declare Waqf properties as 'public premises' to remove encroachments and prevent illegal occupation. K. Rahman Khan had said that the legislation would be on the lines of the Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorized Occupants) Act, 1971.

The Public Premises Act, apart from giving powers to the government for eviction, provides for maximum jail term of a year for

re-occupation of public premises by the evicted person. Declaring Waqf properties as 'Public Premises' – a long-standing demand of the Muslim community – would make encroachment automatically illegal and a penal offence. Besides, it would provide for speedy machinery for the eviction of unauthorized occupants as SWBs would be empowered with Magisterial powers. Once Waqf property is declared as 'Public Premises', then there is no need to go to the courts to file cases for eviction.

The Sachar Committee recommended that the Public Premises (Eviction of Unauthorized Occupants) Act, 1971 should be applied to Waqf properties as these properties are for the benefit of the public and not for any individual. JPC on Waqf in its third report had also stated that all the states may bring Waqf properties under this Act. However, only four states namely Karnataka, Manipur, Rajasthan and Tripura have declared Waqf properties as 'Public Premises' within the meaning of the Public Premises Act.

As usual, when the Bill was introduced, it was opposed by the bureaucracy. When the Bill was circulated among ministers for consultation, the Department of Legislative Affairs of the Ministry of Law questioned the legality of treating Waqf properties on par with Public Premises.<sup>32</sup> It also opposed Magisterial powers to the Waqf Estate Officers. The Bill was introduced in the Rajya Sabha but could not be passed in the last lag of the UPA-II. There was no concerted effort to get the bill passed. In the NDA-II regime, there is no effort or follow up by the MMA to get the Bill passed. The Ministry has not made any effort to even re-introduce the Bill.<sup>33</sup>

### INDIAN WAQF SERVICE

The SCR said,

There is strong case to create a new cadre of officers to manage the affairs of SWBs and CWC. It is estimated that up to 200 Group-A officers are needed to service the Wakf affairs across India. The government may, therefore, consider creating a new cadre of officers to be recruited by the UPSC so that they can deal with the specific affairs of the Waqf efficiently. . . . Some officers of

this cadre could, subject to the concurrence of the Central Haj committee, be seconded to the Central and State Haj Committees for giving them administrative support.<sup>34</sup>

Community activists have been fighting to get this important recommendation implemented. The effort of Dr. Syed Zafar Mahmood is worth mentioning. Information collected under RTI by the ZFI has revealed that during the decade 2001-11, in 28 SWBs of India, there were 98 occupants of the CEO's post, out of which only three were government officers exclusively working as CEO, four were government officers holding CEO post as additional charge and the remaining 91 were not government officers. They were veterinary doctors, primary school teachers, research scholars, retired naib-tahsildars, etc. The Sachar Committee had been informed by one SWB Chairman that his CEO was 'Matric-Failed'. In another board, the incumbent was a Unani graduate. None of them had any grounding in Waqf administration.

This vital recommendation was rejected due to MMA's then Deputy Secretary Virendra Singh's noting: 'This is not feasible'. Consequently the cabinet note prepared by the Ministry carried a one liner: 'It is not recommended to make a separate service cadre for the Waqf'. Apart from that noting of the Deputy Secretary and the cabinet note, the government do not have any record to show that this matter was ever discussed seriously at higher levels including the Minority Minister.

TN, Kerala, Karnataka, AP, Odisha, MP, etc., have separate cadre of officers available for the management of Hindu temples and endowments for many years and for joining which being an adherent of the Hindu religion is a fundamental requirement. If a separate cadre of officers can be created for management of temples then why such cadre cannot be created for lakhs of Waqf properties which serve the interest of the Muslim community?<sup>35</sup> Even according to the Kashi Vishwanath Temple Trust Act, five principal secretaries of UP, the Division Commissioner and the DM of Varanasi are members and officers of this trust. As per law, all of them must profess the Hindu religion.

The NCM supported this provision of the SCR. NCM Chair-

man's letter dated 30 November 2011 supported a separate cadre of Waqf officers. In July 2011, then Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha, K. Rahman Khan also gave a statement that a new cadre of Waqf officers should be formed under the CWC. He also emphasized that there was no relationship of communal separation or ghettoization with making a separate Waqf cadre. It is considered the strongest recommendation of the Sachar Committee to protect and develop Waqf properties for the welfare of Indian Muslims. Many CMs of the states have pointed out the scarcity of Muslim officers to be posted in SWBs. JPC has also supported the idea. As explained above, NCM has written to the MMA for creation of such cadre. There are separate cadres of officers for management of Hindu temples in some states. In this situation creation of an Indian Waqf Service will not only fulfil the demands of the Muslim community, it would streamline the management of Waqfs.

#### SOME DEVELOPMENTS RELATED TO WAQFS

##### WAQF MANAGEMENT SYSTEM OF INDIA (WAMSI)

The JPC on Waqf, in its ninth report (23 October 2008), recommended computerization of the records of SWBs at an estimated cost of Rs. 25 crore which was approved by the GoI with an initial token grant of Rs. 10 crore in budget estimate of 2009-10. The WAMSI was launched by the MMA to streamline record keeping for transparency and to computerize the various functions and processes of the SWBs and to develop a single web-based centralized software application. It is an on-line system for searching Waqf properties in any area and their status. The broad objectives of WAMSI are: Waqf properties Registration Management; Annual return filing of assessable Waqf properties; Transparency in leasing; Litigation tracking management; Waqfs ownership establishing document archiving and retrieval management; GIS of Waqfs using GPS field survey along with photograph of properties; Funds management for various schemes of the SWBs; and Loan management for development of Waqf properties. Link: <http://wamsi.nic.in>.

## CENTRAL COMPUTING FACILITY (CCF)

It was inaugurated at CWC on 28 December 2012 by K. Rahman Khan to provide necessary guidance to SWBs in terms of computerization of records and management of data of Waqf properties spread across states in an efficient and transparent manner. It has been created to also provide training to employees on WAMSI project in coordination with National Informatics Centre (NIC).

## CENTRAL WAQF BHAWAN

The CWC has been functioning from a small room in Delhi for the last 30-5 years. The foundation stone of the Central Waqf Bhawan, a permanent office building for the CWC was laid by Rahman Khan on 26 June 2013 at Pushp Vihar in Delhi. It was to have a library, a conference hall, a multipurpose hall and a canteen besides offices for chairman and officers and secretaries. K. Rahman Khan announced that the building would be completed in the following 6 to 7 months.<sup>36</sup>

## NATIONAL WAQF DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION (NAWADCO)

NAWADCO was inaugurated on 29 January 2014 by former PM Dr. Manmohan Singh with an authorized share capital of Rs. 500 crore. It will facilitate and mobilize financial resources for setting up facilities like schools, colleges and hospitals. With a view to protect vacant Waqf lands from encroachment and develop them on commercial lines for generating income, the CWC has been implementing a scheme since 1974-5 with grant-in-aid from the centre. Under the scheme, loan is extended to Waqf institutions for constructing economically viable buildings on Waqf land such as commercial complexes, marriage halls, hospitals, cold storage, etc. However, over a period of four decades, the CWC received grants-in-aid of Rs. 42.26 crore from the centre and sanctioned loans for 137 projects across India. Out of these, 85 projects were completed and work is underway on the remaining. Considering

the number of Waqf properties and their economic potential what the CWC has done is like a drop in the ocean.

The Sachar Committee recommended to develop wakf properties in an efficient manner. Many of these properties are on prime locations and thus have the potential of generating considerable returns. As a follow-up to the Sachar Committee recommendation, the NAWADCO was established on 31 December 2013 under the Companies Act, 1956. It has authorized share capital of Rs. 500 crore with a paid-up capital of Rs. 100 crore. The NMDFC holds 49, the CWC 9 and other Waqf institutions 42 per cent share. It has been mandated to facilitate and mobilize financial resources for the development of Waqf properties in joint venture with the state/UT Waqf Boards and Mutawallis.<sup>37</sup> NAWADCO had identified many Waqf properties including one in Delhi, two in Rajasthan, six in MP and seven in Karnataka which might be developed as commercial projects.<sup>38</sup> It is a good initiative of the MMA which can contribute immensely for socio-economic development of Muslims.

#### WAQF BILL IN UP

The previous UP government announced its decision to table UP Muslim Waqf properties (Prevention of Grabbing) Bill, 2013 with more stringent provisions to protect Waqf properties by making grabbing punishable and time-bound settlement of disputes. The proposed Bill would cover all the Waqf properties provided they are constituted within the Islamic Shariah. It would make Waqf land grab punishable with jail upto three years or fine up to Rs. 10,000. It was to be introduced in the Assembly in September 2013.<sup>39</sup> Fate of the Bill is not known or verified so far.

#### COMMUNITY INITIATIVE

Several Muslim MPs wrote a letter (19 December 2013) to the then PM urging him to look into the dispute of Dargah Hussain Shah Wali in Andhra Pradesh. The letter mentioned the recommendation of a JPC that the government should release the Mani-

konda open land to the Waqf institution and to compensate for the land already utilized by IT companies. Muslim legislators in Maharashtra have been demanding the release of Waqf properties grabbed illegally and strengthening the management of the SWB. On 31 May 2011, Maharashtra Waqf Board Bachao (Protection) Committee, All India Milli Council, Rashtriya Ulema Council, SP and Peace Party organized a joint agitation and demanded an inquiry into the sale of 130 Waqf properties by the Charity Commissioner till 2010. Similar agitations and sit-ins have been organized in other states also to stop the loot of Waqf properties and improving the working of the SWBs. A meeting of Civil Society Organizations was held in Guwahati in January 2015 to discuss issues pertaining to Waqf. It passed a resolution to put pressure on Assam government to implement the Waqf (Amendment) Act, 2013. Maulana Syed Mohammad Kazim has been spearheading a public agitation against the setting off of the Waqf land in Bihar. He has become the face of public opposition for saving the Waqfs in Bihar. He has made tremendous effort for creating awareness among masses about the protection of Waqfs in Bihar.

Legal battles have also been initiated to mainstream the management of Waqfs. An RTI activist Saleem Baig of Manav Vikas Seva Samiti (MVSS) filed a PIL in the SCI in August 2013, which sought intervention of the court for computerization of Waqf properties. The PIL reads 'The MMA, in December 2009 had directed the Waqf Boards in different states to computerize the entire Waqf records of Waqf properties'. However, far from completing the computerization not a single SWB began working on the scheme. The PIL claimed that digitization would at least help in keeping the records of all Waqf properties, which would help further respective SWB to plan for their safety.<sup>40</sup> The PIL was heard on 20 September 2013 by the court which issued notices to the GoI, SWBs, CWC and the NIC. Advocate Shahid Ali has filed another PIL in the Delhi High Court asking the Court to issue necessary direction to authorities for enforcement of eviction orders of 990 Waqf properties in the national capital. Ali said that these properties have already been ordered to be vacated from illegal encroachment under Section 54 of the Waqf Act, 1995 but the SDM concerned have



not been enforcing such orders. The HC issued notice to the State Revenue Secretary and Delhi Waqf Board on 8 July 2015. In November 2014, former MLC and Maharashtra SWB member, M.M. Shaikh filed a PIL in the Aurangabad HC to seek court's intervention to direct the government to appoint 3 board members and chairman for the Board which had been lying vacant for many years. On 8 December 2014, the HC directed the government to nominate 3 members and to fill the post of the chairman.<sup>41</sup>

## SUGGESTIONS

### CENTRAL AND STATE GOVERNMENTS LEVEL

The centre and states are required to develop a transparent and comprehensive system for the efficient management of Waqf properties. Better coordination between the CWC and SWBs is important for information flow and their efficient management. The SWBs should complete the survey of Waqf properties and computerize entire record in a time-bound manner. They should also ensure that the accounts are audited annually. Intellectuals and civil society members have pointed out many weaknesses in the Waqf (Amendment) Act, 2013. The centre should pass a new legislation including the provisions which are left out. The states are urgently required to pass the Waqf (Amendment) Rules based on the Waqf (Amendment) Act, 2013 and implement its provisions. Timely completion of provisions of this Act such as the survey of all properties and registration, cross-checking of the title, establishment of Waqf Tribunals, etc., are important for streamlining the management of Waqfs. The present government should immediately pass the pending and already introduced the Waqf Properties (Eviction of Unauthorized Occupants) Bill, 2014. Important provisions of this Act should be implemented and the encroached properties freed. The states need to immediately constitute their SWBs in the light of the Waqf Act, 2013. Persons of integrity should be appointed as the Chairman of SWBs. Establishment of NAWADCO is a welcome step. It can be used to facilitate issuing of Shariah-compliant bonds to channellize savings of Muslims for community welfare. In this way the autho-

alized share capital of NAWADCO can be raised up to Rs. 10,000 crore which can be used for socio-economic and educational development. NAWADCO like institutions at the state level would be very useful. Full-time Waqf tribunal must be constituted to resolve disputes and litigations besides framing their rules and regulations. Adequate staff should be deployed in the tribunals and it should be headed by a judge of the rank of District Judge. Indian Waqf Service should be created to manage the Waqf affairs. All the SWBs are functioning on a skeletal staff. State governments are urgently required to fill the vacancies through open recruitment. In this regard a letter written by Maharashtra SWB present CEO Syed Ejaj Hussain to the Maharashtra government is noteworthy. He has demanded recruitment of 770 Waqf staff of various categories and to make available regular salary grant for them in the government budget.<sup>42</sup>

#### COMMUNITY LEVEL

Community NGOs and organizations along with intellectuals and activists can come forward to organize seminars, conferences, lectures, etc., to create awareness about Waqf properties and recent development such as Waqf Amendment Act, 2013; New Leasing Rules; Landmark Judgement of the SC on Awqaf; Various notifications of the government; and pending Bills before the parliament. Two Seminars – one international seminar organized by Islamic Fiqh Academy in April 2014 and the second by K. Rahman Khan on 25-6 July 2015 – both at Bengaluru are noteworthy. Similar seminars can be organized in other cities also. Waqf Protection Force/Committee consisting of Lawyers, Ulemas, Social Activists, Awqaf officials, intellectuals and conscientious members should be formed in every district to keep watch over the Awqaf in the district. The committee/force can collect data on Awqaf and chalk out a plan to free and develop them in an efficient manner. Most of the Waqfs are encroached upon by Muslim themselves. They can be persuaded by Ulemas and leaders to free them in larger interest of the community. The onus of recovering lost/encroached Waqf properties is on every Indian Muslim. Activists are advised to collect information

under RTI about these properties to ensure efficient management. Information can be asked on the total numbers of properties and their status. Besides, information can be collected on: number of properties encroached and their nature; litigations in courts; survey of Waqfs; level of computerization and digitization of records; income from Waqf properties; properties identified for development; and constitution of Waqf Boards, etc. Website of the CWC ([www.centralwakfcouncil.org](http://www.centralwakfcouncil.org)) and WAMSI can be used to collect latest information regarding Waqf and their development.

Waqf properties, if developed properly with a minimum return of 10 per cent, are capable of generating income of about 3,600 crore annually. Many of the Wakfs are located on prime location and if developed commercially with proper planning, can generate sufficient income for socio-economic development of Muslims. The Waqf properties can be used to put in place world class facilities such as schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, and convention centres. Income from Waqfs can be used to give scholarships, start coaching centres, construct girls' hostels and modernize *madrasas*.

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## Deprived Sections in Muslims and Affirmative Actions

### PROFILE OF MUSLIM OBCs

According to social scientists, the Muslim community in India is not a homogeneous community. Although Muslims in India follow the religion of Islam, they are segmented on caste and class lines. In spite of the egalitarian nature of Islam, a clear pattern of social stratification does exist among them. Features of the Hindu-caste system such as hierarchical ordering of social groups, endogamy (restriction on marriage outside caste) and hereditary occupation have been found to be amply present among Indian Muslims too. Sociologists say that caste is deeply rooted in non-Hindu communities such as Muslims and Christians. Sociological studies reveal that the present-day Muslim society in India is divided into four major groups: (1) The Ashrafs who trace their origin to Arabia, Persia, Turkistan or Afghanistan; (2) The UCH who converted to Islam; (3) The middle-caste converts whose occupations are ritually clean; and (4) The converts from the erstwhile untouchable castes. These four groups fall into three sections:

1. *Ashraf*: It means 'noble' and includes Muslims of foreign ancestry and converts from UCH. In most states, Sayyads, Sheikhs, Mughals, Pathans constitute this category.
2. *Ajlaf*: It means degraded or unholy and constitutes ritually clean occupational groups and converts from low-caste Hindus. It includes various functional groups such as Julaha (weaver), Dhunia (cotton-carder), Kullu (oil presser), Kunjra (vegetable seller), etc. These are equivalent to Hindu OBCs.

3. *Arzals*: Who converted from very low caste Hindus or untouchables. Such as Halalkhor, Lalbegi, Abdal, Bediya, etc. whose professions are unclean. These are equivalent to Hindu Dalits.

Muslim OBC category consists of both Ajlaf and Arzals (SCR: 2006). The centre, so far, has appointed two Backward Classes Commission (BCC) under Article 340 of the Constitution. Kaka Kalekar Commission, constituted on 20 January 1953, also known as the first BCC, submitted its report on 30 March 1955 which estimated the OBC populations at 31.8 per cent of the national population. It identified 2,399 castes and communities as backward, 837 of these were considered most backward requiring special attention. For the first time some Muslim castes (and also from other religious minorities) were identified as backward.

Mandal Commission, the Second BCC under Chairmanship of B.P. Mandal, submitted its report on 12 December 1980. It used the 1931 census to calculate the share of population of OBCs which added up to nearly 52 per cent (Ramaiah 1992: 1204). On the basis of eleven indicators, it identified 3,743 castes as backward. In principle, it accepted that occurrence of 'caste' or 'caste like features' were not restricted to the Hindu society, its influence was found among non-Hindu groups such as Muslims, Christians, Sikhs as well. It also identified at least 82 social groups among Muslims as Backward and declared them as OBC. In Muslims, it combined the Ajlaf and Arzal category and declared them as OBC. In this way, it overlooked the worst socio-economic condition faced by the Arzals. Neither did it recommend to include them in the SC list nor to put them in a separate list of OBC. V.P. Singh's government accepted its recommendations and implemented it in 1990. After the SCI judgement, the OBCs (including Muslim OBCs) have been getting 27 per cent reservation in the central government employment. The UPA-I government enacted the Central Educational Institutions (Reservation in Admission) Act, 2006 and gave reservation in admission for OBCs.

## RESERVATION FOR MUSLIM OBCs IN STATES

A few states in India have made special provisions for affirmative action for Muslim OBCs. Rest are following the central model.

## KARNATAKA

Karnataka has extended reservation to whole Muslims by declaring them as backward and excluding the population falling in the creamy layer. After recommendations of the Havanur Commission (1972), the state has classified backward classes into three categories: Most Backward, More Backward and Backward. Muslims have been placed under the 'More Backward' category and provided with 4 per cent reservation.

## KERALA

Kerala has also declared the entire Muslim population as backward and provided it with reservation. Forty per cent seats are reserved for Backward classes and 10 for SCs and STs. Muslims (minus creamy layer) have been given 12 per cent reservation.

## TAMIL NADU

Unlike Kerala and Karnataka, Muslims as a distinct category are not eligible for reservation, yet most of the Muslim castes are included either in the backward or most backward category. Nearly 95 per cent Muslims have been included within the fold of backward classes for the purpose and are getting 3.5 per cent reservations. In TN there have been many attempts to raise the level of Muslim reservation. Various Muslim organizations including TMMK, TNTJ and IUML have been agitating to raise the reservation from 3.5 to 7 per cent. Following that the state requested the TN BCC to render necessary recommendations 'at an early date' for increasing the quantum of Muslim reservation.

## BIHAR

As per the Mungeri Lal Commission (1975) recommendations, the Karpoori Thakur government bifurcated the list of Backward

Classes into: the Other Backward Classes (OBCs) and the Most Backward Classes (MBCs). While nine Muslim castes are in the OBC list, 27 of them in the MBC. While some Muslim castes have been placed under OBC, majority of them have been kept under MBC category, where the level of reservation is high.

#### MANIPUR

In December 2006, Manipur announced 17 per cent reservation for OBCs and 4 per cent for Muslim OBCs. However, Muslim organizations came out with the demand that a mere 4 per cent reservation would not be sufficient for a community that was one of the most socially, educationally and economically deprived communities in the state. Muslims in the state have been demanding 10 per cent reservation.<sup>1</sup>

#### ANDHRA PRADESH

In 2007 the AP government passed a Government Order (GO) giving 4 per cent reservation to backward Muslim groups in government jobs and admissions. Subsequently, the AP Reservation for Socially and Educationally Backward Classes of Muslims Act, 2007 was passed to ensure reservation for 14 backward Muslim castes/*biradaries*. As usual, the GO as well as the Act were challenged in the AP High Court. A seven-judge Constitution Bench held the provisions of the Act as 'unsustainable' and violative of Article 14 and other provisions of the Constitution. It said the Act was based on the report and recommendation submitted by the AP Commission for Backward Classes (APCBC) which collected data and on the basis of relative backwardness recommended reservation to Muslim backward groups. While quashing the Act, the HC had cited some reasons. That the APCBC failed to evolve and spell out proper and relevant criteria for identification of social and educational backwardness among classes or persons belonging to the Muslim community. That it failed to bring on record the inadequate representation of Muslims in government employment. And that data was not collected properly by the APCBC for determining the social and educational backwardness of Muslims. The



state challenged the order by an SLP in the Supreme Court. In March 2010, the SCI upheld the order of the state government that granted reservation for 14 backward castes of Muslims.<sup>2</sup>

#### WEST BENGAL

Economically, socially and educationally, Muslims are much backward compared to other communities in WB. 55 per cent of them have nothing to do with the modern market and their share in the state employment is just 3.2 per cent. The state till 2010, used to give total 35 per cent reservation to SCs, STs and OBCs although it had large OBC population in both Hindu and Muslim communities. The reasons for not giving reservation close to 50 per cent is not still clear. Only 9 Muslim groups were included in the state OBC list. Muslims in India do not get social or political justice on ordinary days. Whatever they get, it is always on the eve of elections. When the Assembly Election of 2011 had been approaching and there was clear indication that the Muslim vote was shifting to Mamata Bannerjee, the Left Front government in a hurry announced reservation for Muslims on 24 September 2010 (Memo No. 6320-BCW/MR-84/10). It increased the OBC reservation from 7 to 17 per cent and number of Muslim groups from 9 to 53. The memo also clarified that 10 per cent reservation would be for more backward class (Category A) and 7 per cent for OBCs (Category B). It was a hurried and erroneous notification that left out many deserving backward groups in Muslims and Hindus. On 11 May 2012 (Memo No. 1673-BCW/MR-209/1), the state issued another notification to include 30 more Muslim castes in the OBC list. With this the number of Muslim castes in OBC has now reached 83. The state now claims that 87 per cent of Muslim population is covered under reservation net.<sup>3</sup> See Table 15.1.

However, it is surprising that the central list of OBCs has not included any caste from WB which have been recently included in the state OBC list. Consequently, many OBC candidates from WB who got selected in the central government jobs, faced notices of termination as their caste was not included in central list. Salim Ali from North 24 Parganas who had been selected as Probation-

TABLE 15.1: OBC RESERVATION IN WEST BENGAL

OBC Category	No. of Castes			Level of Reservation
	Muslims	Others	Total	
Category A	57	8	65	10%
Category B	26	52	78	7%
Total	83	60	143	17%

Source: TwoCircles.net.

ary Officer in Andhra Bank, got the notice of termination during his training in 2013 as his caste (Muslim-Mandal) was not in the central OBC list. Muslim OBCs of WB are thus deprived from jobs in central government departments such as Defence, Railways, Banking, Post & Telegraph, etc. On this issue, the National Commission for Backward Classes (NCBC) took a hearing on 21 and 22 November 2011, but the decision has not yet been taken. Muslim organizations have submitted various memorandums to the NCBC and the Ministry of SJE. Yet their demands have not been met. In November 2013, around 200 youths of Minority Youth Federation and WB Sunnat Al-Jamat staged a protest at Jantar Mantar. The issue is still unsettled and newly included OBCs of Muslims in the state are waiting for the needful justice.

## TELANGANA

On 16 April 2014, during election campaign, TRS chief Chandrashekhar Rao promised 12 per cent reservation for Muslims and clarified that an Act would be passed in the Assembly in a manner similar to what had already been done in TN for crossing the limit of reservation beyond 50 per cent.<sup>4</sup> On 11 June 2014, Governor E.S.L. Narasimhan reiterated that the state would provide 12 per cent reservation to Muslims. On 3 March 2015, the state constituted a commission, to study the socio-economic and educational status of Muslims and to recommend increase in the quantum of reservation.<sup>5</sup> Based on this commission's recommendations, the Telangana House, on 16 April 2017, passed a Bill increasing the

quota for Muslims from 4 to 12 per cent. It will now be sent to the President for his assent, with a reference to include it in the ninth schedule of the Constitution, as was done when Tamil Nadu breached the 50 per cent ceiling (*The Indian Express*, 17 April 2017).

#### UTTAR PRADESH

During election campaign of the UP Assembly in 2012, the SP had promised to provide reservation to Muslims. In a letter written to Syed Ahmed Bukhari, Mulayam Singh Yadav had promised, in January 2012, that his party would set up a commission to 'survey the backwardness of Muslims' in UP and give 'exemplary reservation' to them if it formed the next government.<sup>6</sup> He also said that soon after forming the government, his party members would discuss the issue with Muslims, intellectuals and law experts and would give reservation on the lines of Kerala and AP. In June 2012, Azam Khan reiterated the stand of his party on Muslim reservation. He said, 'We will bring a model which will be foolproof'.<sup>7</sup> When the Bill to provide reservation for SCs/STs in promotion was being discussed in December 2012 in the Parliament, Mulayam Singh demanded reservation for Muslims. He said, 'The Muslims condition is very bad. Therefore, reservation should be provided to them and there is no alternative to this.'<sup>8</sup> However, SP's promises were confined only to lip service and nothing concrete was done.

When the UP Assembly election had been approaching, the UPA-II on 22 December 2011 issued a memo to create 4.5 per cent sub-quota for backward minorities including Muslims within the 27 per cent quota for OBCs. In May 2012, the AP High Court quashed the centre's decision saying that the creation of sub-quota was based on religious grounds. The centre then moved the Supreme Court through an SLP. The SC has not given stay on the Order and the matter is still pending.

Affirmative action for backward Muslims can be grouped in the following models:

1. Reservation for entire Muslim community (minus creamy layer): Kerala and Karnataka.

2. Reservation for backward section of Muslims but most of the Muslim groups are covered: Tamil Nadu.
3. Bifurcation of OBC list into OBCs and MBCs and putting most of the Muslim castes in MBCs: Bihar and WB.
4. A separate quota for Backward Caste Muslims: AP.

In the remaining states and on national level, there is no separate quota for Muslims. Muslim OBCs have been clubbed with all other OBCs. In states like Uttarakhand, Haryana, Odisha, HP and Punjab only a few Muslim groups are included in the OBC list which need to be revised to include more backward Muslim groups.

#### DALIT MUSLIMS

In Indian society, while the Ashrafs and the Ajlafs occupy the highest and the middle position in the Muslim social structure, the Arzals are at the lowest level. They have occupations exactly similar to their Hindu counterparts, the Hindu Dalits. Thus Arzals are the Dalits of the Muslim community. Historically, due to an oppressive caste system and inhuman treatment given to Dalits in the Brahmanical system, a good number of them converted to Islam. Change of religion did not bring any change in their social or economic status. Due to the stigma attached to their traditional occupation, they suffer social exclusion even today. Despite all these facts, Dalit Muslims have been deprived of Scheduled Caste status available to their Hindu counterparts. According to the Kumar Suresh Singh Report, there are some 35 Muslim castes that have SC background and engaged in occupations traditionally associated with Hindu SCs. Some prominent Muslim Dalit castes are: Doms, Gadheris, Gokun, Mehtars or Halalkhors, Muslim Dhobis, Bakhos, Nats, Pamarias, Lalbegis, etc. Muslim Dalits have the same profession as their counterparts in the Hindu community. For example Muslim Chandaals follow the same profession as Hindu Chandaals. Ostracized from the Hindu community, the Chandaals live in the crematorium ground to conduct the last rites in return for a token payment and 'Kafan'. While Hindu Chandaals are given the SC status, the Muslim Chandaals are deprived of this. Similar situation exists for Muslim Dhobis, Muslim Khatiks, etc.

The discrimination and injustice on Muslim Dalits dates back to 1936 when the Imperial (Scheduled Caste) Order rejected SC status to Christians and Buddhists of similar origins. Dalit Muslims were included in the list but were barred from availing the benefits. That very decree became the basis and the GoI passed the Constitution (Scheduled Caste) Order, 1950 and granted SC status to only those Dalits which belonged to the Hindu religion. This order was amended twice: in 1956 to include Dalit Sikhs and in 1990 to include the neo-Buddhists as SCs. Thus, practically only Muslims and Christians of Dalit origin have been unjustly deprived of the SC status. Constitutional experts have been arguing that the Presidential Order of 1950 is inconsistent with Articles 14, 15, 16 and 25 of the Constitution. These Articles guarantee equality of opportunity, freedom of conscience and protect the citizens from discrimination by the state on grounds of religion, caste or creed. The Order clearly discriminates people of same social and economic background on the basis of religion. While Dalits of Hindu, Sikh and Buddhist origin have been given SC status, Dalits of Muslim and Christian background have been denied to this.

Some Dalit Muslims have tried to take benefit that is given to SCs, but their claims have been rejected by various courts. In the case of *Punjabrao vs. Dr. D.P. Meshram and Others*, the SCI ruled that under the clause (3) of the Constitution (SC) Order, 1950, if a person wants to be treated as SC within the meaning of that order, he must be one who professes either Hindu or Sikh religion.<sup>9</sup> *Aqeela Khanam and Others vs. Nagpur Municipal Corporation & Others* (2004): Six persons belonging to the Muslim community had been appointed as assistant Urdu teachers in the Nagpur Municipal Corporation. Those persons had declared that they belonged to SCs and thus had availed the benefit of reservation under SC category. Their appointment was challenged through a petition. The HC ruled that the law is well settled that there can be no reservation in the category of SC in the Muslim religion and the SC category is only permitted for the Hindu community.<sup>9</sup> The Punjab and Haryana HC, on 7 April 2015, set aside the election of MLA Mohammad Sadiq from Bhadaur (reserved) Constituency in Barnala district, holding that the MLA is a Muslim and thus not competent to contest the election on a SC reserved seat.<sup>10</sup>

The courts have been harsh in allowing Muslim Dalits to take any benefit under SC category. However, at the same time, the courts have not scrutinized the Constitutional validity of the presidential Order of 1950. This order openly discriminates people of different faiths on the basis of religion.

Members of RSS have been using this order to lure Dalits of Muslims and Christians community to convert (or re-convert) to Hinduism and Sikhism. The Punjab State Scheduled Castes and BCC headed by Rajesh Bagga, an old RSS hand, started an exercise to determine Christians and Muslims holding 'illegal' SC certificates in the state, which enabled them to avail benefits meant for SCs. Soon after taking charge of the Commission, in the first decision under him, the panel cancelled the SC certificate of Mohammed Sadiq, the MLA mentioned above. The drive of the commission is exactly similar with the RSS's 'Ghar Wapsi' programme. One of the attractions the programme offers lower-caste Muslims and Christians is that they can avail of SC benefit if they 're-convert' to Hinduism and Sikhism.<sup>11</sup>

The PSEC says, 'The Dalit Muslims must be taken out of the OBC list and incorporated in the SC list. It should be possible to identify these Muslim caste groups based on the principle recommended by NCRLM that all groups and classes whose counterparts among the Hindus, Sikhs or Buddhists are included in the central or state SC lists, should be brought under the SC net'. It again says that this will entail not more than 2-3 per cent addition in the existing quota for SCs. Thus, the Constitutional order of 1950 is against the spirit of the Constitution and it should be repealed or amended to include Dalits in Muslims and Christians.

#### SCHEDULED TRIBES (STs) AMONG MUSLIMS

As per the 2011 Census, SCs and STs comprise about 16.6 and 8.6 per cent respectively. The Constitution (SC) Order, 1950 lists 1,108 castes across 29 states and the Constitution (ST) Order, 1950 lists 744 tribes across 22 states in its First Schedule.

Unlike the SC category, the category of ST is religion-neutral. People of all religious affiliations can be the member of ST and are entitled for reservation. While the Constitution (SC) Order, 1950

bars Muslims and Christians from SC status, the law in Scheduled Tribes is wholly free from religious shackles. The non-Hindu clause of the Constitution (SC) Order 1950 has no parallel in the Constitution (ST) Order, 1950. Nor is there any judicial decision saying that all STs are born Hindus. Any change of religion on the part of a member of a ST does not legally alter his or her ST status.<sup>12</sup> As stated in the SCR, the criterion followed for specification of a community as ST are indications of primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographical isolation, shyness of contact with the community at large and backwardness. According to 1991 census, population of Muslim STs was only 1,70,428 whereas total population of STs stood at 66,758,285. Thus Muslim STs accounted for only 0.25 per cent of the total ST population. In Lakshadweep, Muslim STs constitute 99.74 and in HP 7 per cent of the total ST population. In other states it is negligible.

It must be noted that all Muslims of tribal origin are not included in the list of STs. Hindu Banjaras are in the ST list while their Muslim counterparts in the OBC list. Many Muslim castes of tribal origin in Maharashtra are kept out of the ST list.

The SCR pointed out that there had been many cases of claims of ST status by Muslim groups that had remained unattended. In its last phase, the UPA-II government constituted a committee under Virginius Xaxa to investigate the socio-economic status of all tribals in India. The committee has similar mandate as that of the Sachar Committee. It has not submitted its report so far. It is hoped that it would clearly find the exact number of ST population in Muslims and the number of Muslim castes that fulfil the criteria to be counted as STs but have not been included in the ST list. Muslim organizations and reservation activists have been demanding that all Muslim castes that fulfil the criteria to be counted as STs or whose counterparts in other religions are in the ST list, should be included in the ST list.

#### RESERVATION ISSUE IN MAHARASHTRA

The MRC submitted its report in 2013 and recommended 8 per cent reservation for Muslims in government jobs, education and the housing both public as well as private. Following that,

Muslims began to demand 8 per cent reservation. The previous Congress-NCP government in Maharashtra, on 25 June 2014, gave its approval to 16 per cent reservation for Marathas and 5 per cent for 50 backward Muslim castes in government jobs and education. The then CM Prithvi Raj Chavan had said that the reservation for Muslims was not based on religion but on backwardness. The state had identified 50 communities among Muslims as socially backward class and had relied on the SCR, the RMCR and the MRC report.<sup>13</sup> Thus the quota for Muslim was based on social and educational backwardness and not on religious affiliation.

The government had classified 50 Muslim backward castes as 'Special Backward Class (Muslim)'. To ensure that the draft proposal stood legal scrutiny, the government renamed the category as 'Special Backward Class (A)'. On 11 July 2014, it issued an ordinance to extend 16 per cent reservation for Marathas and 5 per cent for Muslims in education and employment. As usual the ordinance was challenged in the Bombay High Court. Petitioner Ketan Tirodkar contended that Maratha community was a socially, economically and politically dominant community and thus it did not deserve reservation. For Muslims, he said the reservation was based on religion and demanded quashing of both the quotas. The government defended that the reservation for Muslims was based on social and educational backwardness while for the Marathas it was on the basis of 'compelling and quantifiable' data. On 14 November 2014, the HC stayed the said ordinance that provided 16 per cent reservation for the Maratha community. The bench also stayed 5 per cent quota for Muslims in government jobs but allowed reservations in educational institutions, except private ones, citing 'abysmally low' educational achievements.<sup>14</sup>

The present BJP government convened an all-party meeting on 15 November 2014 and decided to move to the SCI against the HC order. While the issue of Maratha reservation was highlighted by all members, a kind of shyness was seen in the government on the issue of Muslim reservation. The government moved to the SCI against the interim stay order of the HC. However, the Supreme Court refused to lift stay on Maratha quota. The SC asked the government to wait for the final order by the Bombay HC.

On 23 December 2014, the state government introduced the



Maratha Reservation Bill and got it passed.<sup>15</sup> Displaying open discrimination to Muslims it didn't bring any bill for Muslim reservation. All Muslim MLAs agitated against the unjust and discriminatory move but it was not sufficient to impress the government. The Ordinance of Muslim reservation lapsed on 25 December 2014 and the state government indicated clearly that they were not likely to bring further ordinance on it. The government wanted that the reservation ordinance should lapse silently.

The government, in the first week of March 2015, scrapped the quota for Muslims in education as well despite the Bombay High Court allowing quota for the Muslim community in admissions. On some occasions the CM Devendra Fadnavis had announced that the development of the state was not possible if conditions of Muslim did not improve. On the other hand, he scrapped quota in education to ensure that the community remained educationally backward.<sup>16</sup> Muslim organizations registered their displeasure over government move and said that the BJP government was accomplishing its anti-minority agenda. Asaduddin Owaisi targeted the government for quota bias and blamed the Congress-NCP government for doing 'nothing concrete' for Muslims.

Now the state Congress is pursuing the issue of Muslim reservation and NCP has started a signature campaign against the government decision. Common Muslims in the state feel that the NCP-Congress government ruled the state for 15 years. They ask then why their government didn't bring the reservation bill one year before the election so that the responsibility of passing the Bill would have been on the same government. They are also not surprised by the decision of the present government which is ideologically against development of Muslims. Like the Maratha community, Muslims have started massive mobilization campaign to get reservation promised in the ordinance.

#### MUSLIM OBCs NOT INCLUDED IN THE OBC LIST

When the Mandal Commission recommendations were accepted, the central list of OBCs, in the initial phase, was prepared by

employing the principle of 'commonality'. Thus, castes/communities listed both in the state list and in the list prepared by the Mandal Commission were included in the central list of OBCs. Initially the Commission included a total 3,743 castes in the central list out of which at least 82 were Muslim groups. However, there are many Muslim castes present in the state list of OBCs but missing in the central list. There are a few Muslim groups in the centre but missing in the state list. There are a number of Muslim groups that have neither been included in the state nor in central list. These castes can be identified from the information collected by the Anthropological Survey of India under its 'People of India Project'. To sort out the complaints of under-inclusion or over-inclusion of castes in the central list of OBCs, the centre has created a permanent body called the National Commission for Backward Classes (NCBC). Under section 9 (1) of the NCBC Act, 1993, the Commission shall examine requests for inclusion of any class of citizens as a backward class in the central list of Backward classes and hear complaints of over-inclusion or under-inclusion of any backward class in the lists and tender such advice to the central government as it deems appropriate. Since 1993 the NCBC has visited most of the states and UTs and heard/accepted memorandum of organizations/individuals and has sorted out the complaints of under-inclusion or over-inclusion. This is done on a set of guidelines based on social, economic and educational indicators. The SCR on its page no. 201, had highlighted many cases of under-inclusion of Muslim castes. There were 10 Muslim castes from MP, 6 from Bihar, 2 from UP, 8 from Gujarat and at least 9 groups from Maharashtra which were included in the state OBC list but missing in the central list. It is not verified if these castes have been included in the central list of OBCs.

In 2007, the Government of AP, through an Act allocated 4 per cent reservation for socially and educationally backward class (SEBC) Muslims. The APCBC in 2007 had recommended the inclusion of these groups in the state list of OBCs under a new category 'E'. These groups from AP are not included in the central list. In April 2015, the AIMIM leader Mohammad Ali Shabbir gave representation to the NCBC to include these groups in the

central OBC list. In 2010, 72 additional Muslim groups were included in the state list of West Bengal and the total number of castes rose to 83. However, these new entries of Muslim groups have not been included in the central list. Due to huge discrepancies, Muslim groups enlisted as OBCs in the state are facing gross injustice. About 500 OBC candidates from WB were selected for Central Armed Police Forces (CAPF) and Assam Rifles in 2012. After final recruitment and medical test, they were served notice that their castes were not included in the central list of OBCs and thus their selection would be cancelled.<sup>17</sup> Muslim organizations from WB, have been fighting for this cause and they have given representations to the NCBC, Minister of SJE and the president. Even the state government has been raising the issue. However, Muslim OBCs from WB have been deprived of their due right.

### SOME ISSUES RELATED TO RESERVATION

#### ISSUE OF CASTE CERTIFICATES

Persons belonging to backward castes in Muslims face too many difficulties in getting caste certificates issued from their respective tahsils/blocks. In the absence of certificates they are denied reservation in jobs, admissions and government schemes. Common difficulties are: (1) Caste certificate is not issued on time; (2) Applications are rejected or returned citing frivolous reasons; (3) Applicants are asked to make several rounds of the office; (4) Applicants are asked to produce very old documents in support of their claim; (5) They have to face biased attitude of the officials who ask questions of communal nature; and (6) Applicants are compelled to give bribe. These difficulties are common in all states in India. In 2013, in Marathwada region of Maharashtra, Muslims of backward castes had been asked to produce 50 year-old document to get the OBC certificate. Surprisingly those documents had not been demanded from non-Muslim applicants.<sup>18</sup>

Besides, the converted backward class Muslims are denied BC certificates by state authorities. In case of converted Muslims, officials say that they are not Muslims by birth and hence cannot be

considered under OBC or BC category. In a judgement, Madras High Court held that a Hindu backward class (BC) individual shall be considered as BC Muslim after conversion to Islam and denial of BC certificate will be depriving of fundamental rights granted under the constitution.<sup>19</sup> This Order of Madras HC, dated 5 June 2015 in *Writ Petition of R. Ayesha vs. Government of TN* (Writ Petition No. 1048 of 2015) is worth reading.

#### JAT RESERVATION ISSUE

On 4 March 2014, the then UPA-II government, ignoring the advice of the NCBC, decided to include the politically dominant Jat community in the central list of OBC for nine states. The Supreme Court on 17 March 2015, quashed the government notification saying that Jats were politically dominant and did not deserve to be included in the central OBC list. The court said, 'We cannot agree that politically organized Jats are backward class so as to be entitled to OBC reservation.' Two observations of the Court need to be kept in mind. 'An affirmative action policy that keeps in mind only historical injustice would certainly result in under-protection of the most deserving backward class of citizens, which is constitutionally mandated. It is identification of these new emerging groups, that must engage the attention of the state'. Second, to determine backwardness, contemporaneous data is required.<sup>20</sup> These observations are very much valid in the case of Muslim OBCs and Muslim Dalits. Most recent data, e.g. the SCR, PSEC and the RMCR have affirmed that Backwards and Dalits among Muslim community are the most deserving groups for reservation.

#### ISSUE OF CATEGORIZING OBCs IN THREE GROUPS

The central government has initiated a move to divide the OBC category into three groups. The NCBC seeks the government to replace the present system with the reservation proportionate to the backwardness. The report, recently submitted to the government, recommends to categorize OBCs on the basis of social and economic backwardness. The move has been opposed on the ground

that it would disturb the present system of reservation and many deserving communities would be denied of their rights.<sup>21</sup>

#### VIEWPOINT OF BACKWARD MUSLIMS

Pasmanda (Backward) Muslim groups have been demanding proper and adequate reservation for backward as well as Dalit Muslims. They have also opposed the Total Muslim Reservation (TMR) concept on the ground that this has been initiated by Ashraf Muslims to complicate the issue of reservation. A group of Pasmanda activists met in Lucknow in July 2013 to discuss several issues including reservation. Many resolutions pertaining to reservations were passed. First, the TMR is an 'Ashraf-driven' demand which is opposed by the Pasmanda Muslim groups. TMR campaign is propagated to complicate the issue of reservation and get the Ashraf castes included in the OBC list. Pasmanda Muslims are already covered within the existing reservation policy. The point is not about chalking a separate quota for Muslims, but rather the deepening of existing reservation so that an adequate share of Dalit and backward caste Muslims is secured. Ashrafs are not 'socially' backward and they cannot be considered for reservations. Secondly, chalking out a sub-quota for Extremely Backward Castes (EBCs) within OBC quota in centre and States (Bihar and WB formula), where backward caste Muslims could be clubbed together with similarly placed Hindu caste groups. This is a more judicious and non-communal demand than the 4.5 per cent sub-quota for OBCs among minorities moved by the Congress party just before the UP elections in 2011. Third, scrapping of the Presidential Order of 1950 so that Dalit among Muslims and Christians are duly included in the SC list.

#### DO MUSLIMS NEED RESERVATION?

Do Muslims or more specifically backward Muslims need reservation? While various reports based on empirical data suggest that Muslims have a more compelling case for reservation than the Hindu OBCs, some prominent personalities among Muslims say that Muslim don't need reservation.

Muslims should think beyond reservation and have wide approach and analyze the problems and measures to solve them.<sup>22</sup>

LATE SAIYID HAMID, FORMER VC OF AMU

It is nothing except a crutch, which aims at making a person lame and crippled forever while the present era demands a steady run to achieve excellence at par.<sup>23</sup>

JUSTICE (RETD.) M.S.A. SIDDIQUI,  
FORMER CHAIRMAN NCMEI

Muslims should rely on their talent and capabilities rather than on reservation.<sup>24</sup>

NAJIB JUNG, FORMER LG OF DELHI

Mrs Najma Heptulla has entirely a different viewpoint. When the Congress-NCP government in Maharashtra, in June 2014, announced 5 per cent reservation for Muslims and 16 per cent for Marathas, she questioned the state for giving quota to Muslims. However, she didn't dare to make any comment on Maratha quota. Her argument was that the quota to Muslims was announced on the basis of religion.<sup>25</sup> But, she should be aware that then Maharashtra government announced quota for the Muslims not on the basis of religion but on social and educational backwardness. She courted controversy by saying reservation was not needed for Muslims. When people from the community objected to her viewpoint and said that if reservation was not needed for Muslims then there should be no reservation to any other community.<sup>26</sup>

These statements have been given by highly educated people belonging to Ashraf section of the community. They have argued that Muslims do not need reservation and they should focus on talent and capability. Pasmenda Muslims argue that these people come from well off families and they do not realize the pain and sufferings of the backward and poor Muslims. When government appointed committees and commissions have said that backward Muslims are socially and educationally backward and need urgent affirmative actions then why these people are opposing reservation for them. Why don't they oppose reservation to Hindu-OBCs, SCs and STs? In fact, opposing Muslim reservation or pushing the

concept of TMR is a well thought plan of Ashraf intelligentsia to communalize the issue. Most of the Muslim scholars support the cause of reservation. Aijaz Ilmi cites the social and economic backwardness of Muslims while laments the lack of what he calls 'an honest chance for a decent living and equitable opportunities' for Muslims. This 'equitable opportunity' is nothing but reservation in jobs and education. An IIM-Ahmedabad sponsored report notes a declining gap between Dalits, Tribals and UCH in primary and middle class over the last few years. However, the gap between the UCH and Muslims is still not declining. It says that reservation in government employment can potentially enhance returns to education. Muslims have more compelling case for reservation than Hindu OBCs.<sup>27</sup> K. Rahman Khan, in May 2014, backed giving reservations to Muslims, saying that the community suffers from lack of education and scant representation in government services.<sup>28</sup> Dr. Shakeel Samdani has an easy mathematical formula to prove the need of Muslim reservation. He says that in 50 per cent open quota, Muslims are getting about 3 per cent, had it been 100 they would have secured 6 per cent jobs. Since 100 per cent reservation is not possible, the only possible way to enhance Muslim proportion in jobs is to extend reservation to Muslims.

Backwardness of deprived sections (including Muslim) is a burden of history. Reservation is given to do away with past injustice and ameliorate the condition of depressed sections. No one can deny that blacks in America and Dalits in India have suffered a lot and continue to suffer discrimination. Reservation have made a great impact and these groups have made good progress. Muslims deprivation can be reduced or their condition can be improved through reservation. All the commissions/committees formed to study the socio-economic conditions of Muslims have concluded that 'their level of education remains equal to or lower than the SCs/STs and it can be improved through targeted affirmative action'.

#### RESERVATION PATTERN FOR MUSLIMS

Reservation pattern for an SRC is dependent on its social stratification, level of backwardness and population share of different castes. Before arriving at an appropriate pattern for Muslim reservation in

India, one needs to discuss stratification among Indian Muslims. Azra Khanam in her book, *Muslim Backward Classes: A Sociological Perspective*, has discussed the issue with more clarity and required authority. According to sociologists and social anthropologists, caste exists as the basis of social relation among Muslims, but the pattern of stratification differs from Hindu caste model in certain details. In case of Muslims, caste system does not enjoy any sanction or justification in their religious ideology or religious texts while there is a resemblance in the caste of Hindu and Muslim in the pattern of endogamy, a keen sense of pride in birth and descent and a notion of hierarchy. Caste among Muslims does not follow the notion of pure and impure. Srinivas (1986) observes that it is likely that Hindus who converted to Islam continue to regard themselves as having a Hindu caste. Bhattacharya's view is that existence of caste among Muslims is resulting from the Hindu influence (Ahmad 1973: 12-13). The majority of Muslims in India are originally converted from middle and lower range of Hindu society wherein status was rigidly defined in terms of birth and maintained by strong social sanctions. Hutton (1946) observes that the cultural impact of Hindu society was so great that even non-Hindus were influenced by it in different degrees.<sup>29</sup>

From the current social stratification of Muslim society, it can be confidently said that Muslim society in India is the mirror image of Hindu society. In Hindu society knowledge is monopolized; untouchability is practised; caste has religious sanction and caste rules are followed with higher intensity. However, these things are absent in Muslim society. As mirror-image of Hindu society, Muslim society can be stratified as under:

- (a) Similar to the UCHs, Muslims have forward castes called 'Ashrafs' who are socially and educationally developed and thus don't qualify for reservation.
- (b) Similar to Hindu-OBCs, Muslims have OBCs whose professions are clean. These are placed in central list of OBCs along with Hindu OBC castes.
- (c) Similar to Hindu Dalits, Muslims have several Dalit castes whose profession is unclean and are most deprived.
- (d) Similar to Hindu tribals, Muslims too have tribals.



As per mirror-image similarity, Muslims or more specifically backward sections of Muslims, should get reservation in a similar manner as the different sections of Hindu community are getting. Since 'all' Hindus are not getting reservation, 'all' Muslims can't get reservation. Muslim intellectuals (majority from Ashraf) point out that all Muslims can't get reservation. The TMR is an 'Ashraf-driven' campaign which has been launched to communalize the issue and confuse the government. Since 75 to 85 per cent of Muslims (Ajlaf and Arzals) are already covered under reservation, the talk of reservation to 'all' Muslims is futile. The Pasmanda movement also challenges this position by pointing out privilege of some section of Muslims and argue that intervention should be based on caste and not religion. If we include Ashraf section and demand reservation for all Muslim, it will become religion-based reservation which can't stand the scrutiny of law. So, to sum it up:

- (a) All Muslims can't get reservation as it will not pass the legal test.
- (b) Muslim OBCs are included in central OBC list and covered under 27 per cent quota. However, they are finding it difficult to compete with more advanced Hindu OBCs who are educationally more advanced. So, it is felt that Muslim OBCs should get a separate sub-quota. Justice Venkatechalliah, Chairman of the Constitutional Review Commission notes, 'Backward Classes belonging to religious minorities who have been identified and included in the list of backward classes and who in fact constitute the bulk of the religious minorities should be taken up with special care along with their Hindu counterparts in the development efforts for the backward classes'.<sup>30</sup> The PSEC argues that many of the Muslim artisanal groups (referred to as Ajlaf) can be included in the 'Most Backward' sub-category along with similarly placed castes of other religions.
- (c) While their counterparts in the Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists enjoy SC status, Muslim and Christian Dalits are left out. The RMC has recommended that the Constitution (SC) order, 1950 should be scrapped and made religion-neutral. This Order discriminates people of similar backgrounds on the basis of

religion. The PSEC has also recommended to give SC status to Dalits of these two communities. Thus, Arzals who are now in the OBC list should be taken out and given SC status.

- (d) ST status is religion neutral and some Muslims groups are included in the ST list. The general complain is that government census officials refuse to enroll Muslims of tribal origin as STs in scheduled areas. Deserving castes of Muslims can be included in the ST list.

To my way of thinking, this could be the most simple and workable pattern for Muslim reservation in India which can pass any legal scrutiny.

### SUGGESTIONS

As per the NSSO estimate, Muslim OBCs constitute 40.7 per cent of the Muslim population. But this survey fails to provide disaggregated figures of all individual castes/groups included in the OBC list. Besides, it also does not give exact estimate of all Dalits and tribals present in Muslims who can qualify for SC and ST status respectively. Thus, it is suggested that the government should go for caste-based census to find out the exact share of OBCs, Dalits and Tribals among Muslims.

Indian Muslims are not a monolithic group. In terms of social structure it consists of three groups – Ashraf, Ajlaf and Arzal. Ajlafs and Arzals are socially and educationally backward and need special treatment. First, while dismissing the Maratha quota and upholding the 5 per cent Muslim quota in education the Bombay High Court noted, 'In so far as reservation for specified Muslim communities is concerned, there exists sufficient material or quantifiable data to sustain their classification as "special backward classes".'<sup>31</sup> Muslim OBCs are unable to compete with the more advanced non-Muslim OBCs. Therefore, the government should include Muslim OBCs in the 'Most Backward' sub-category along with similarly placed caste groups from other religions. For this newly created sub-category, the government can allot a sub-quota based on their population share. Second, the government should remove

legal hurdles and create a general consensus to give SC status to Muslim Dalits. This demand has been supported by the Sachar Committee, the RMC, the PSEC, the MRC and Legislative Assemblies of many states. Third, many Muslim tribals groups are not included in the ST list. The government should go for extensive survey for Muslim tribals and include them in the ST list.

If the centre and states accept the social structure of Muslims in this way and implement the above observations, it would contribute to social, economic and educational development of Muslims and they can easily be brought into national mainstream.

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## Government Programmes and Schemes in the Post-Sachar Era

The political valour and vision that informed the appointment of the Sachar Committee is not matched by that required to build an appropriate and adequate response to the multiple development deficits suffered by the teeming majority of Indian Muslims. Right from the Union Ministry of Minority Affairs down to the district level and below, the officers lack conviction, clout and even a mandate to directly tackle the socio-economic structural discrimination and denial encountered by the Muslim Community.<sup>1</sup>

EXCERPT FROM THE STUDY *PROMISES TO KEEP*

### INTRODUCTION

After publication of the SCR, it became evident that the Muslim community was socially, economically and educationally extremely backward. The SCR mentioned that Muslims faced deficits and deprivation in terms of educational attainment, employment, infrastructural facilities, etc. Muslims' general condition was similar to that of SCs/STs and with respect to some indicators it was even worse. To check the ever-worsening condition of Muslims and improve it, the GoI started some schemes and programmes and built some institutions. Even before the SCR had been submitted, the GoI created the MMA on 29 January 2006 'to ensure a more focused approach towards issues relating to minorities and to facilitate the formulation of overall policy and planning, coordination, evaluation and review of the regulatory framework and development programmes for the benefit of the minority communities'. The MMA commits to facilitate growth and development of

minorities by ensuring: right to education; right to better life; constitutional rights; economic empowerment and employment; empowerment of minority women; protection and security under law; protection and development of Waqf properties; healthy population of vulnerable communities; and participation in the planning process.<sup>2</sup>

In 2006, the Centre revamped the PM's 15 PP and brought to focus the vital concerns of education, employment and skill development, living condition and security in its ambit. In 2007-8, the MMA launched the MSDP with an area development approach to address deficits related to infrastructure along with income generation opportunities in MCDs. These two programmes constitute the core of planned initiative for the religious minorities. In 2011, former PM Manmohan Singh had claimed that the initiatives of the government had begun to impact the status of minorities. However, field reports and studies on status of implementation say entirely different stories.

#### PM'S NEW 15-POINT PROGRAMME

During Independence Day address of 2005, then PM announced, 'We will also revise and revamp the 15 Point Programme of Minorities which will have definite goals which are to be achieved in a specific time frame'. Subsequently, the 15 PP was revamped and recast in 2006 with aims to spend 15 per cent of the plan outlays in minority concentration areas and/or on beneficiaries related to minorities. In a nutshell PM's new 15 PP is as under:

#### ENHANCING OPPORTUNITIES FOR EDUCATION

1. Equitable availability of Integrated Child Development Services.
2. Improving access to school education
3. Greater resources for teaching Urdu
4. Modernization of *madrasa* education
5. Scholarships for meritorious students
6. Improving educational infrastructure through MAEF

EQUITABLE SHARE IN ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES  
AND EMPLOYMENT

7. Self-employment and wage employment for the poor
8. Upgradation of skills through technical training
9. Enhanced credit support for economic activities
10. Recruitment to state and central services

IMPROVING CONDITIONS OF LIVING

11. Equitable share in rural housing scheme
12. Improvement of slums inhabited by minority communities

PREVENTION AND CONTROL OF COMMUNAL RIOTS

13. Prevention of communal incidents
14. Prosecution of communal offences
15. Rehabilitation of victims of communal riots.

Its full text is found on the MMA's website. It is an overarching programme which covers various schemes/initiatives of different ministries/departments. In order to ensure the benefits of various schemes flow equitably to minorities, it envisages location of a certain proportion of development projects in minority concentration areas. Presently 24 schemes of 11 different ministries/departments are covered under it and are implemented by the MMA and concerned ministries/departments as per the guidelines of individual schemes/programmes. These 24 schemes/programmes are:

SCHEMES IN THE 15-PP CONSIDERED AMENABLE TO EARMARKING  
FOR MINORITY (15 PER CENT OF TARGETS/OUTLAYS ARE  
EARMARKED FOR MINORITIES)

- ICDS implemented by M/o Women & Child Welfare;
- Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan implemented by MHRD;
- SGSY (renamed as Aajeevika) renamed National Rural Livelihood Mission and implemented by M/o Rural Development;
- SJSRY renamed National Urban Livelihood Mission imple-

- mented by M/o Housing & Urban Poverty Alleviation (HUPA);
- Upgradation of ITIs into Centre of Excellence, implemented by M/o Labour & Employment;
- Bank credit under PSL implemented by Department of Financial Services; and
- Indira Awaas Yojna implemented by M/o Rural Development.

SCHEMES INCLUDED IN PM'S 15 PP AND  
IMPLEMENTED BY THE MMA

- Merit-cum-Means Scholarship
- Pre-Matric Scholarship
- Post-Matric Scholarship
- Maulana Azad National Fellowship (MANF)
- Loan schemes of NMDFC for economic activities
- Schemes of MAEF for promotion of education, and
- Free Coaching and Allied scheme.

SCHEMES IN PM'S 15-PP FOR WHICH FLOW OF FUND TO  
MINORITY CONCENTRATION AREAS IS QUANTIFIED/MONITORED:

- IHSDP implemented by M/o HUPA
- Basic Services for Urban Poor implemented by M/o HUPA
- UIDSSMT implemented by M/o Urban Development
- UIG implemented by M/o Urban Development
- NRDWP implemented by M/o Drinking Water & Sanitation.

SPECIAL INITIATIVES INCLUDED IN THE PM'S  
NEW 15-PP FOR MINORITIES

- SPQEM implemented by D/o School Education & Literacy (DSEL) of MHRD
- Scheme for IDMI implemented by DSEL
- Greater Resources for Teaching Urdu-Scheme for Appointment of Language Teachers implemented by DSEL
- Recruitment of minorities in government departments/organizations implemented by Department of Personnel & Training
- Guidelines on Communal harmony by MHA.



While 7 schemes of the MMA are exclusively meant for the welfare of minorities, in respect of other schemes, certain proportion of benefits are earmarked for minorities. The 15 PP is implemented by the central ministries/departments concerned through state governments/UTs. An important objective of 15 PP is to ensure that the benefits of various government schemes for the underprivileged reach the disadvantaged sections of the minority communities. It, therefore, envisages location of 'certain portion' of development projects in minority concentration areas. It also provides that 'wherever possible', up to 15 per cent of targets and outlays under various schemes should be earmarked for minorities.

Mainly five central ministries are involved in the implementation process. These are: (1) MHRD; (2) HUPA; (3) Ministry of Women and Child Welfare; (4) Ministry of Rural Development; and (5) Ministry of Finance. These ministries have appointed nodal officers for the 15 PP. The ministries/departments are expected to review the implementation on monthly basis and report the same on a quarterly basis to the MMA. The 'guidelines' for implementation of the new 15 PP is available on MMA's website.

#### SCHEMES UNDER 15 PP

##### INTEGRATED CHILD DEVELOPMENT SERVICES

It is a comprehensive programme to address the issue of child nutrition amongst the 0-6 year old (pre-school) children through the establishment of Anganwadi Centres (AC). The SCR had brought out that the coverage of the ICDS in 2004-5 was only 20 per cent on national level and 12.4 per cent in the Muslim community. Its performance in blocks with SMP is presented in Table 16.1.

Targets and achievements have been quite inconsistent. Achievement was the highest in 2007-8 when 21,014 ACs were constructed. Over the years targets as well as achievements have declined substantially. Reasons behind the decline are not fully known. It would have been either due to substantial achievements or lackadaisical approach or unsystematic targeting.

TABLE 16.1: OPERATIONALIZATION OF ACs  
IN BLOCKS HAVING SMP

Financial Year	Total Target	Achievement	% Achievement
2006-7	28,525	11,125	39.0
2007-8	25,166	21,014	83.5
2008-9	0	0	0
2009-10	35,981	23,712	65.9
2010-11	15,307	6,934	45.3
2011-12	8,551	3,489	40.8
2012-13	5,138	3,804	74.0
2013-14	1,334	293	21.9
2014-15	776	0	0.0

Source: The PSEC Report (2014) and MMA.

#### ACCESS TO SCHOOL EDUCATION

The 15-PP commits to enhance opportunities for education to minorities by improving access to schools through SSA and establishments of KGBV in MCDs. Under the SSA some works have been initiated. These are: (a) Opening of New Primary Schools, (b) Opening of New Upper Primary Schools, (c) Construction of Primary Schools, (d) Construction of Upper Primary Schools, (e) Construction of Additional Class Rooms, and (f) Filling of the post of teachers. See Table 16.2.

Targets and achievements have been quite inconsistent. Achievement is overall at 50 per cent. In recent years, specially during 2012-13, 2013-14 and 2014-15, target as well as achievements have been very low. Whether it is due to lost tempo or achieved need, is yet to be investigated. State-wise physical targets and achievements can be seen from the MMA's website.

#### INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT FOR MINORITY INSTITUTIONS (IDMI)

It aims to create infrastructure for minority institutions which is implemented by the DSEL of MHRD. See Table 16.3.

TABLE 16.2: TARGETS AND ACHIEVEMENTS UNDER SSA AND KGVB IN DISTRICTS WITH SMP

Schemes	2006-7		2007-8		2008-9		2009-10		2010-11	
	T	A	T	A	T	A	T	A	T	A
a.	3,802	3,515	2,322	1,201	1,423	1,386	2,066	1,905	11,930	11,922
b.	1,189	114	3,600	3,001	4,301	3,176	1,719	1,625	2,370	2,364
c.	4,427	2,447	2,236	1,725	4,404	3,266	3,635	3,237	4,969	3,573
d.	1,189	961	2,108	2,008	4,154	2,662	1,348	1,214	1,147	1,103
e.	75,967	51,602	36,847	36,865	21,102	15,563	21,168	20,588	35,806	34,877
f.	26,532	24,282	21,437	24,866	21,945	15,759	8,429	7,743	48,001	34,941
g.	121	97	314	219	168	133	479	475	TNF	0

  

Schemes	2011-12		2012-13		2013-14		2014-15	
	T	A	T	A	T	A	T	A
a.	1,470	1,251	258	175	133	131	TNF	0
b.	445	356	256	216	22	19	TNF	0
c.	1,522	1,241	231	176	302	274	257	235
d.	67	66	361	98	42	39	TNF	0
e.	45,541	36,895	45,117	34,158	123	120	6493	5,835
f.	32,164	7,603	27,542	10,072	179	120	49	0
g.	107	75	3	3	-	-	-	-

Source: MMA.

Notes: T: Target; A: Achievement; TNF: Target Not Fixed; a, b, c, d, e & f: Schemes of SSA as described above; g: No. of KGBVs sanctioned.

TABLE 16.3: AMOUNT RELEASED AND INSTITUTIONS CREATED UNDER IDMI

Year	Amount Released (in crore)	Institutions Created	Average Allocation per Institution (in lakh)
2009-10	4.48	22	20.36
2010-11	22.98	124	18.53
2011-12	48.43	259	18.69
2012-13	28.38	184	15.42
2013-14	24.98	229	10.90
2014-15	12.26	131	9.35
Total	141.51	949	14.91

Source: MHRD.

Only Rs. 141.51 crore was sanctioned over 6 years and 949 institutions created. Gradually allocation per institution has gone down.

#### INDUSTRIAL TRAINING INSTITUTES

15 PP aims to provide equitable share in economic activities and employment to minorities through upgradation of skills through technical training by establishing a certain portion of new ITIs in MCDs and upgrading a portion of existing ITIs as Centre of Excellence. Total 171 ITIs and 44 Polytechnics have been sanctioned for MCDs. Further, 10 per cent of the allocations under MSDP has been earmarked for skill training during the 12th FYP. The Ministry of Labour and Employment has also set a target of converting 60 ITIs in MCDs as centre of excellence with financial assistance from the World Bank. See Table 16.4.

These 60 ITIs are located in 19 states: 13 in Maharashtra, 7 each in Jharkhand and Kerala and 6 in UP. Other states have low number of ITIs. Overall achievement is 71.2 per cent in 8 years. Lack of zeal in implementation noticed in later years.

Remaining/schemes covered in the new 15 PP, have been discussed in preceding chapters at appropriate places in this book.

TABLE 16.4: UPGRADATION OF 60 ITIs INTO CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE IN MCDs

Year	Total Allocation (crore)	Achievement (crore)	% Achievement
2007-8	33.85	33.85	100.00
2008-9	56.93	29.89	52.50
2009-10	25.99	22.17	85.30
2010-11	42.34	21.17	50.00
2011-12	31.812	13.65	41.60
2012-13	18.42	8.82	47.90
2013-14	4.80	23.44	488.03
2014-15	9.36	6.13	65.49
Total	223.502	159.12	71.02

*Source:* Ministry of Labour and Employment and the MMA.

### BUDGET OF MMA

We would like to discuss and demand allocation of funds and their effective utilization for minorities on the lines of SC and ST, because minorities, particularly Muslims are more backward than SC and ST on socio-economic and educational fronts as per data of Prime Minister constituted report of Justice Sachar Committee.<sup>3</sup>

EXCERPT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN BY AMU ALUMNI TO  
THEN FINANCE MINISTER IN MARCH 2013

### FIVE YEAR PLAN ALLOCATION

Separate allocation for minorities started from the 11th FYP, after the creation of MMA. Allocation under FYP is as follows:

11th FYP (2007-12) : Rs. 7,000 crore  
12th FYP (2012-17) : Rs. 17,323 crore

Minorities constitute about 19 per cent of the national population and the budgetary allocation for schemes meant for them is about 5 per cent of the total plan allocation in a financial year. Even this allocated funds are not utilized properly. During 11th

FYP out of a total allocation of Rs. 7,000 crore to the MMA only 57 per cent had been utilized. When the 12th FYP was being finalized, Muslims hoped that the government would allocate more than 50,000 crore for minorities. However, the Planning Commission (PC) reduced it to near 17,000 crore. Annoyed by the decision, a group of MPs met then Deputy Chairman of the PC, Montek Singh Ahluwalia in December 2012 and expressed their unhappiness over the steep reduction in the projected demand of Rs. 58,588.78 crore allocation for MMA to a mere Rs. 17,323 crore. While demanding a three fold increase in the minority budget, they pointed out that even PC's own Working Group on Empowerment of Minorities had recommended Rs. 41,685 crore as envisaged in the 12th FYP. See Table 16.5.

The MPs also demanded that Muslims lagged behind in every sphere of the Human Development Index that necessitated a sub-plan for them on the lines of SCs/ STs.

#### ANNUAL BUDGET FOR MMA

The annual budget of a country reflects the government's policies and priorities. Its allocation for socially and economically disadvantaged section of society reflects concern for that community.

TABLE 16.5: COMPARATIVE ALLOCATION OF  
11TH AND 12TH FYP

Schemes	11th FYP Allocation	11th FYP Exp. (Anticipated)	12th FYP Proposal	(Rs. in crore)	
				12th FYP Allocation	Demand of MPs
MSDP	2,750	3,382.10	23,380	5,650	11,845
Pre-Matric Schol.	1,400	1,311.32	12,267	5,000	10,642
Post-Matric Schol.	1,150	907.97	13,038	2,850	10,188
MCM Scholarship	600	451.69	2,353	1,580	673
MAEF	500	550	750	500	1,200
NMDFC	500	500	1,075	600	5,000
Skill Development	—	—	100	600	3,000

Source: *The Milli Gazette*, New Delhi.<sup>4</sup>

However, annual budget allocation shows that minorities, especially Muslims, have never been on the agenda of the government. There is no noticeable mention of Muslims and other minorities in the several annual budgets presented in the Parliament. It indicates that the central government does not seem to be interested in the Welfare of Muslims and other minorities. On the other hand, allocation for SCs/STs is much higher than that for all minorities. Even this meagre allocation has not been spent by the MMA within stipulated time. See Table 16.6.

Some observations deserve to be mentioned here. Given the population share of minorities, the MMA has been allocated a meagre amount every year. Even that meagre amount has not been released by the finance ministry in full. 2006-7 was the only year when the budgetary allocation was revised upward. From 2007 till date, it has been revised downward and actual release has been further low. Percentage of unspent amount to the revised estimate has been high. It was 42.57 per cent in 2007-8, 19.65 in 2010-11 and 16.95 in 2011-12. In 2013-14 the budgetary allocation

TABLE 16.6: BUDGET OF MMA  
(PLAN & NON-PLAN INCLUDED)

<i>(Rs. in crore)</i>					
Financial Year	Budget Allocation	Revised Estimate	Actual Release	Unspent Amount	Unspent as % of Revised Estimate
2006-7	2.00	143.52	132.03	11.49	8.00
2007-8	512.83	362.83	208.38	154.45	42.57
2008-9	1,013.83	664.38	629.55	35.83	5.39
2009-10	1,756.50	1,755.50	1,723.44	32.06	1.82
2010-11	2,615.37	2,514.50	2,020.28	494.22	19.65
2011-12	2,866.00	2,766.46	2,297.53	468.93	16.95
2012-13*	3,154.70	2,218.26	2,174.29	43.97	1.98
2013-14	3,530.98	3,130.84	3,026.28	104.56	3.34
2014-15	3,734.01	3,165.00	3,088.61	76.39	2.41
2015-16	3,738.11	—	471.17*		

Source: muslimmirror.com and www.beyondheadlines.in

Note: \*Actual Expenditure as on 30 June 2015.

for minorities was 3,511 crore for plan head. In the same year the government allocated Rs. 41,561 for SC sub-plan and Rs. 24,598 for the Tribal sub-plan. Thus in comparison to SCs and STs, minorities are allocated very less amount. The annual budget of MMA does not constitute even 1 per cent of the Union budget. The government allocated Rs. 3,738.11 crore in 2015-16 which was 0.21 per cent of the total Union budget (Rs. 17,77,477 crore).

The sincerity of the MMA has always been questioned in spending the allocated funds. In 2010-11, the MMA returned funds worth Rs. 587 crore, for which it was pulled up by the PSC on the SJE. On the other hand, the MMA always blames the states for not properly utilizing the funds and not submitting the project reports to the centre on time. States have been blaming the centre for withholding the funds and not releasing it on time. Whatever it may be, better coordination between the centre and states is required for proper utilization of minority budget.

#### SUB-PLAN FOR MINORITIES

The SCs and STs constitute around 16 and 8 per cent respectively of the Indian population. Given the socio-economic and educational backwardness of these two historically deprived groups, the GoI has made provisions for a sub-plan for SCs and STs. Generally, 40,000 crore is allocated for SC sub-plan every year in the annual budget which is around 2.0 per cent of the Union budget. Similarly, around Rs. 25,000 crore is allocated for Tribal sub-plan every year which is around 1.25 per cent of the Union budget. These allocations are meant for schemes which directly target SCs and STs for their socio-economic development. The Sachar Committee had clearly revealed that Muslims socio-economic condition were almost similar to SCs and with respect to some indicators it was even worse. In spite of all these realities, the budgetary allocation for minorities is about 0.2 per cent of the Union Budget. The allocation is too small to address the socio-economic deprivation of Muslims and other minorities.

Several political parties and Muslim organizations have demanded from the government to prepare a sub-plan for minorities. They



have suggested to make a just allocation under the sub-plan for specific schemes aimed at advancing the minorities. In 2011, when some Muslim MPs approached then PM Manmohan Singh and complained about low budgetary allocation, he advised them to meet then PC Deputy Chairman with their grievances. It was later decided to take up the issue for inter-ministerial consultations which could culminate in a note for consideration of the Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs (CCPA). The note was being seriously considered in those days in view of the Assembly elections due in many states. When the MPs met then Deputy Chairman of PC, he said that the issue came under the National Development Council (NDC). Unfortunately, neither had the note been discussed in the CCPA nor in the NDC. Harsh Mander has concluded that the only way to implement the SCR is a budget sub-plan for Muslims. Given the socio-economic backwardness of Muslims, the government should make a consensus among all political parties to grant a budget sub-plan for minorities.

#### SCHEMES/PROGRAMMES IMPLEMENTED BY THE MMA

The MMA directly implements the following programmes:

##### CENTRAL SECTOR SCHEMES (CS)

(1) Grants-in-Aid to MAEF; (2) Free coaching and Allied Schemes; (3) Contribution to Equity of NMDFC; (4) Research/studies, monitoring including publicity; (5) Grants-in-Aid to SCAs engaged in implementation of NMDFC loans; (6) Nai Roshni; (7) Maulana Azad National Fellowship; 8. Computerization of SWB records; (9) Padho Pradesh; (10) Jiyo Parsi; (11) Seekho Aur Kamao; (12) Support for students clearing Prelims conducted by the UPSC, SSC, SPSCs, etc.; (13) Strengthening of SWBs; (14) Maulana Azad Sehat Scheme; (15) Merit-cum-Means Scholarship; (16) Pre-Matric Scholarship; and (17) Post-Matric Scholarship. Schemes 15, 16 and 17 were included in the CS since 2014-15. Earlier these were with Centrally Sponsored Scheme.

#### CENTRALLY SPONSORED SCHEMES (CSS)

(1) MSDP; (2) Scheme for Promotion of Education in 100 minority concentrated towns/cities out of 251 such towns/cities identified as backward; (3) Village Development Programme for villages not covered by MCB/MCD; (4) Support to District Level Institutions in MCDs; (5) Free cycles to girl students of Class IX; (6) USTTAD; and (7) Hamari Dharohar. Schemes 2 to 5 have been merged with MSDP.<sup>5</sup>

#### MULTI-SECTORAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME (MSDP)

The MSDP, a flagship scheme of MMA, was initiated in 2008-9 in 90 MCDs. It is an area development scheme based on the Sachar Committee's findings that Muslim populated areas are suffering from poor infrastructural facilities and therefore, the basic facilities need to be developed. It is similar to other area development schemes to fill development gaps. Under MSDP, a district is declared as MCD if: Population of all minorities constitute at least 25 per cent of the district population; or gross population of minorities exceeds 5 lakh and its percentage exceeds 20 per cent but less than 25 per cent of the district population; or in six states/UTs in the country, where a minority community is in majority, a district having 15 per cent of the minority population, other than that of the minority community in majority in that state/UT.

Based on these three criteria 90 MCDs had been identified in India. The state-wise list of MCDs can be seen on [www.minorityaffairs.gov.in/sites/upload\\_files/moma/files/pdfs/mcd\\_90districts.pdf](http://www.minorityaffairs.gov.in/sites/upload_files/moma/files/pdfs/mcd_90districts.pdf). Eight socio-economic and basic amenities indicators have been used for understanding the overall development of minorities as per the Census 2001 (Khan and Parvati, 2013). The break up of these districts were as follows:

53 Districts : A category – the districts which lag behind in terms of socio-economic and basic amenities indicators.

- 20 Districts : B-1 category – Lagging in terms of socio-economic indicators.
- 17 Districts : B-2 category – Lagging in terms of basic amenities indicators.

Out of these 66 belonged to Muslim concentrated, 13 Christian, 10 Buddhists and one Sikh concentrated. MSDP's focus are:

1. *For B-1 category districts*: Special focus is given on schemes of poverty alleviation, employment generation, literacy, etc.
2. *For B-2 category districts*: Special focus is given on schemes of infrastructural development and creation of basic amenities.
3. *For A category districts*: Focus is on both type of schemes.

The MSDP was implemented in 90 MCDs until the end of the 11th FYP. At the end of the plan, there were several complains that the benefits were not reaching to the 'intended beneficiaries' and non-minority areas of MCDs were being given preference. Muslim MPs and organizations had also suggested to choose minority concentrated blocks (MCB) as unit of implementation of MSDP. Similar suggestions came from the PC and the PSC. Following this, the Cabinet Committee on Economic Affairs cleared the MMA's proposal to select MCBs as unit of implementation of MSDP which would ensure focused targeting. It also allowed the MMA to extend the programme to cover 'other deserving areas-towns, cities or clusters of minority concentration villages'. The restructured programme is now being implemented in 710 MCBs and 66 towns/cities across 196 districts of 26 states/UTs.<sup>6</sup> The list of these blocks and towns can be seen on [www.minorityaffairs.gov.in/sites/upload\\_files/moma/files/guidelines.pdf](http://www.minorityaffairs.gov.in/sites/upload_files/moma/files/guidelines.pdf).

#### 11TH FIVE YEAR PLAN (FINANCIAL ACHIEVEMENT)

The year-wise budgetary provision, funds released and percentage utilization by the MMA in implementation of MSDP is given in the Tables 16.7 and 16.8.

For 11th FYP, updated Financial Progress Report as per reports received from States/UTs up to 30 June 2015 was uploaded on

TABLE 16.7: ALLOCATION UNDER MSDP AND ITS UTILIZATION

(Rs. in crore)

Year	Revised Estimate (RE)	Expenditure by MMA	% of Expenditure
2008-9	280	270.85	96.73
2009-10	990	971.94	98.18
2010-11	1,327.32	919.24	69.26
2011-12	1,218.40 (BE)	13.28	1.09
Total	3,815.72	2,175.31	57.01

Source: MMA's D.O. No. 3-6/2009-PP-1, dated 7 July 2011.

TABLE 16.8: UTILIZATION BY STATES/UTs UNDER MSDP

(Rs. in crore)

Year	Expenditure by MMA	Utilization by States/UTs	% of Utilization
2008-9	270.85	268.75	99.2
2009-10	971.94	606.38	62.39
2010-11	919.24	65.32	7.11
2011-12	12.28	—	—
Total	2,175.31	940.45	43.50

Source: MMA's D.O. No. 3-6/2009-PP-1, dated 7 July 2011.<sup>7</sup>

MMA's website in respect of twenty states/UTs. Total allocation was Rs. 3,780.40 crore and projects worth Rs. 3,733.89 had been approved. The MMA released Rs. 2935.30 crore and those states/UTs reported that Rs. 2411.62 had been spent. Thus expenditure with respect to releases was at 82.16 per cent. See Table 16.9.

## 12TH FIVE YEAR PLAN (FINANCIAL ACHIEVEMENT)

The BE has been revised downward in all years. The revised estimate (RE) is 70-5 per cent of the BE and almost full amount has been released to the MMA. Financial Progress Report in 12th FYP up to 30 June 2015 in respect of 22 states/UTs, uploaded on MMA's

TABLE 16.9: ALLOCATION OF FUND AND EXPENDITURE BY MMA

Year	Budget Estimate (BE)	Revised Estimate (RE)	Actual Expenditure (AE)	A.E. as Percentage to (RE)
2012-13	999.0	649.56	641.26	98.72
2013-14	1,250.0	958.53	953.48	99.47
2014-15	1,250.0	770.94	768.21	99.64
2015-16	1,251.64	—	161.42*	12.89**
Total	4,750.64	2,379.03	2,524.37	—

Source: [www.beyondheadlines.in](http://www.beyondheadlines.in)

Notes: \*Actual expenditure as on 30 June 2015; \*\* as percentage to BE.

website showed that projects worth Rs. 3,301.25 crore were approved. Total amount released by the MMA was Rs. 2,422.54 crore. Total amount released for which Utilization Certificates (UCs) were due was 1,550.60 crore. Expenditure against the release for which UCs were due was only Rs. 733.56 crore. Thus expenditure with respect to released amount for which UCs were due was 47.30 per cent. See Table 16.10.

TABLE 16.10: PHYSICAL ACHIEVEMENT OF MSDP DURING 11TH FYP (2008-9 TO 2011-12)

Name of Project	Unit Sanctioned (S)	Unit Completed (C)	Work in Progress (P)	C+P as % of Total Unit Sanctioned
IAY	3,01,221	2,20,819	38,514	86.09
Health Centres	2,537	1,882	359	88.33
Anganwadi Centres	27,595	19,827	3,881	85.91
Drinking Water Supply	35,773	24,905	2,087	74.61
Additional Class Rooms	14,072	9,762	1,693	81.40
School Buildings	660	373	277	98.48
ITIs	72	10	42	72.22
Polytechnic Institutes	31	4	24	90.32
Solar Lantern/Light	30,314	13,488	3,912	57.40
Hostels	334	95	172	79.94

Source: [www.ministryofminorityaffairs.gov.in](http://www.ministryofminorityaffairs.gov.in) (as on 8 September 2015).

## PHYSICAL ACHIEVEMENT DURING 11TH FYP

It shows that most of the work are in progress. Still percentage of unit already completed and work in progress to the total unit sanctioned is not satisfactory. This was the status calculated on 8 September, 2015, while 11th FYP ended in 2012. This is indicative of the slow pace and apathy shown by the states to the MSDP.

## PHYSICAL ACHIEVEMENT DURING TWELFTH FYP

Physical achievement till date is very poor and work in case of many schemes have not started. Concerns have been raised for tardy and faulty implementation of MSDP schemes. (See Table 16.11)

TABLE 16.11: PHYSICAL ACHIEVEMENT OF MSDP  
DURING 12TH FYP (2012-17)

Name of Project	Unit Sanctioned (S)	Unit Completed (C)	Work in Progress (P)	C+P as % of Total Unit Sanctioned
Degree colleges	12	0	0	0.0
School buildings	609	18	30	7.9
Addl. class rooms	7,678	1,450	2,889	56.5
Hostels	494	38	119	31.8
Free bicycles for girls	13,056	0	0	0.0
Digital literacy	3,61,257	0	0	0.0
ITI buildings	81	0	38	46.9
Polytechnics	15	0	8	53.3
Skill training	1,25,085	1,295	463	1.4
Health centres	1,368	74	240	22.9
Anganwadi centres	6,993	1,839	808	37.9
Head pumps	13,624	6,429	1,851	60.8
Drinking water facility	9,940	1,582	3,905	55.2
IAY	36,288	10,238	10,527	57.2
Income generating Inf.	58	7	39	79.3

Source: [www.ministryofminorityaffairs.gov.in](http://www.ministryofminorityaffairs.gov.in) (as downloaded on 8 September 2015).

Note: Inf: Infrastructure.

## MMA'S OTHER SCHEMES/PROGRAMMES

Majority of the schemes of MMA have already been discussed in chapters on education, economy, banking, infrastructure, employment, etc. Some schemes, whose scope is small in nature and have not been discussed so far, are presented here. Detailed information about the schemes can be seen on MMA's website.

## 'KHIDMAT' HELPLINE

A toll-free 'Khidmat' helpline was started on 8 August 2013 to provide information about welfare schemes of MMA and related complaints. Starting the service K. Rahman Khan had hoped that it would not only help in inclusive growth of minorities but also increase transparency and efficiency. Its name has been changed as 'Samadhaan'. The helpline number is: 1800-11-2001.

## NAI ROSHNI

It intends to develop leadership quality among minority women, including their neighbours from other communities living in the same village/locality, by providing knowledge, tools and techniques for interacting with the government system, banks and other institutions at all levels. Its objective is to empower women and instil confidence among them to assume leadership roles and assert their rights. In 2013, the MMA sanctioned funds to 64 NGOs for implementing it across 12 states.

## MINORITY CYBER GRAM

It is being implemented as a component of MSDP which aims to provide digital skill to students of *madrasas* and schools to make them digitally literate. Under this funds are provided for hardware and software activities related to digital skilling. It covers minority students of class VI to X.

## MAULANA AZAD SEHAT SCHEME

In his budget speech of 2013-14, the then finance minister had announced it who said that medical facilities would be provided

to the educational institutions financed by MAEF. To begin with an infirmary or a resident doctor would be posted with such institutions. He also allocated Rs. 100 crore to launch it. Under it 'Sehat Card' would be issued to every students and health check-up camps would be organized twice in a year through government hospitals.

#### HAMARI DHAROHAR

It is a scheme to preserve the rich heritage of minorities of India under the overall concept of Indian culture and supporting calligraphy and related crafts. Objectives of the scheme are: To curate the rich heritage of minorities; curating iconic exhibitions; preserving of literature/documents, etc.; support and promotion of calligraphy, etc.; and research and development.

#### NALANDA PROJECT

Launched by the MMA under its scheme 'Research, Studies, Monitoring, Evaluation of Development Schemes including Publicity' in February 2014 at AMU, the nodal agency declared by the UGC, it is a faculty development programme under MMA's Information, Education and Communication (IEC) strategy. It aims towards orientation and development of faculties of minority-managed universities, colleges and higher educational institutions.

Besides the centre, states also announce and implement a good number of schemes for the development of minorities with the funds allocated to them. Bihar government announced scholarship schemes, skill development initiatives such as *hunar* and schemes to support poor widows. In unique way, Bihar has created a post of Minority Welfare Officer in every district for the successful implementation of minority schemes. Creating post for Urdu teachers, *madrassa* grants, employment loan and fencing of Muslim graveyards are some other initiatives in Bihar. UP decided to earmark 20 per cent of target under various schemes for minorities. This would cover 85 schemes of 30 departments. Maharashtra started construction of hostels for girls of minority communities. Few of them are under construction and many are facing the apathy of the present government. AP has created a Minority Commissionerate



to oversee the work of minority schemes. The previous AP government had decided to open four model schools in Muslim concentrated areas of Hyderabad. West Bengal announced to train 10,000 minority youths in skill training and provide them employment. Besides, many states have announced schemes for educational progress and employment generation for minorities. Follow up of these announcements/schemes is required for their proper implementation. Concerned citizens and Muslim organizations/NGOs can play a role here. They can collect information through RTI in respect of these schemes and analyse their impact.

#### KEY CONCERNS RELATED TO PM's NEW 15-PP

On 29 January 2014, when NAWADCO was being inaugurated in New Delhi, Dr. Faheem Beg, a local doctor from North-East Delhi stood up and questioned the intention of the government behind initiating a new programme. He said that instead of starting a new scheme, the government should have first implemented earlier ones on the ground. The police on duty rushed to him and he was taken out. Later he explained to the media that none of the schemes meant for minorities under 15 PP were implemented in his district, although his district was an MCD in Delhi.

That was not an individual reaction but the concern of the whole Muslim community to 15 PP. Several eminent personalities said that the government in its 'minimalist' and 'half-hearted' approach had designed the 15 PP. Several vague expressions have created 'confusion' in implementing officials that allow ample room for perpetuation of biases and discrimination. Harsh Mander in his study titled *Promises to Keep* writes,

The institutional structures designed to implement these initiatives—right from the Union Ministry of Minority Affairs to implementing officials in districts and below—lack conviction, clout and even a clear mandate to directly battle the socio-economic structural discrimination and denial encountered by the community.

Some major concerns are:

1. The PSEC notes that casual approach in framing policy and programme guidelines, inefficiency in administration, lack of convergence and coordination among different departments and ministries and paucity of funds for the schemes are the major problems for effective implementation.
2. Wordings of 15-PP are quite vague. It uses 'certain percentage of physical and financial targets' will be earmarked for beneficiaries belonging to the minorities or 'appropriate percentage of resources' are targeted for minorities. These vague terms have created confusion and allow ample room for perpetuation of biases and discrimination against Muslims.
3. For recruitment in the central and state government jobs, it uses the phrase 'special consideration' will be given to minorities. What is this 'special consideration'? Without any reservation or legal backing, no consideration can be given to any candidate. If an officer who is in-charge of the recruitment process gives some special benefit or consideration to any candidate, he would be booked for favouritism and corruption.
4. There are several mechanism for monitoring of the scheme at district, state, MMA and PMO level. However, the present guidelines do not specify a role for robust external monitoring or evaluation mechanism.
5. Schemes are being implemented at different units: block, district, town and city. It is, therefore, possible for benefits to reach a geographical unit, without specifically reaching the minority population of that unit. This has happened at many places. *Promises to Keep* has highlighted that in Durbhanga, under SSA in 2009-10, Muslim concentration areas had got only 7 out of 66 new primary schools. Several projects in Assam have been diverted to areas having scanty minority population.
6. There is much confusion about the unit of implementation. For most schemes, it is district and not village, ward or block, with the result that most schemes bypass minorities.
7. Minorities are less aware of the benefits and have no involvement in planning and implementation.

Status of implementation during 2013-14 revealed some shocking truth about the implementation and seriousness of the states. Nine states/UTs did not give any loan under the term loan scheme of NMDFC. These were: Bihar, Chandigarh, Chhattisgarh, Delhi, Gujarat, Haryana, Karnataka, Odisha and Tripura. Six states/UTs did not give any loans under micro-finance scheme. These were: Assam, Gujarat, HP, J&K, Maharashtra and Odisha. Over three years before 2013-14, Gujarat granted loan under micro finance scheme only in 2012-13 only to 89 people. 15 states/UTs did not enroll any student for free coaching and allied scheme. Rajasthan and MP did not grant any employment under SJSRY. 13 states did not sanction any JNNURM projects for minority areas.<sup>8</sup> Thus many states are not serious and show casual approach to implementation of these schemes. The government should study and analyse these concerns and bring remedial measures.

#### KEY CONCERNS RELATED TO MMA's SCHEMES

The MMA has been given the mandate of minority welfare and separate budget is allocated to it. It has designed innovative schemes including its flagship scheme the MSDP. MMA's 7 schemes covering scholarship, coaching and loans of NMDFC have been included in 15-PP. However, while implementing these schemes many difficulties have been noticed due to conceptual confusion at multiple levels. Its schemes are not implemented sincerely and in many cases funds are diverted. The Char Chapori Sahitya Parishad claimed that Assam had allotted Rs. 6.5 crore for construction of a hospital at Chamguri, Nagaon district which had only 4 per cent minority population. Assam had allotted Rs. 50 lakh to Kaliabor College which had only 18.8 per cent minority students and sanctioned Rs. 4 crore to Nagaon ITI which had less than 10 per cent minority students. Second, MMA's schemes after schemes are falling far behind targets as allocated funds are not released and even if released not spent properly (see Table 16.12).

Thus except scholarship schemes, all others have failed to even take off. During 2012-13, utilization under most of the MMA's

TABLE 16.12: PERFORMANCE OF MMA's SCHEMES

Name of Scheme	Year	Fund Allocated	Released	Utilized	% to Allocated
Grant-in-Aid to MAEF	2012-13	100 cr	1 lakh	0.00	0.00
Nai Roshni	2012-13	15 cr	12.80 cr	10.45 cr	69.66
Grant-in-Aid to SCAs for NMDFC Loan	2012-13	2 cr	66 lakh	0.00	0.0
Strengthening of SWBs	2012-13	5 cr	10 lakh	0.00	0.0
	2010-11	7 cr	10 lakh	0.00	0.0
	2012-13	4 cr	2 lakh	0.00	0.0
Support for students clearing preliminary of UPSC, SPSC, SSC, etc.					
Skill Development Initiatives	2012-13	20 cr	5 lakh	0.00	0.0
Jiyo Parsi	2012-13	2 cr	1 lakh	0.00	0.0
Promotion of Linguistic Minorities	2010-11	1 cr	5 lakh	0.00	0.0
Padho Pradesh	2012-13	2 cr	2 lakh	0.00	0.0
Computerization of SWBs	2012-13	5 cr	1.6 cr	89 lakh	17.8
	2011-12	5 cr	2 cr	62 lakh	12.4
MCM Scholarship	2012-13	220 cr	184.07 cr	181.21 cr	82.4
Post-Matric Scholarship	2012-13	500 cr	340.75 cr	326.55 cr	65.31
Promotion of Education in 100 Minority concentration towns/cities out of 251	2012-13	50 cr	4 lakh	0.00	0.0
Village Development Programme for villages not covered by MCBs/MCD	2012-13	50 cr	4 lakh	0.00	0.0
Support to district level institution in MCDs	2012-13	25 cr	4 lakh	0.00	0.0
Free cycles to girls of class IX	2012-13	5 cr	4 lakh	0.00	0.0

schemes have been nil. On the contrary, the MMA has utilized full amount of budget earmarked for publicity.

A report titled 'Social Development Report 2012: Minorities at the Margins' prepared by the Council for Social Development describes how the UPA government failed to implement the recommendations of the Sachar Committee, with response to Muslim deprivation at best being 'cautious and minimalist'. It notes most of the benefits intended for minorities are being cornered by either the majority population or non-Muslim minorities. The report lists misplaced focus of minority-oriented programmes, lack of funds and fear of 'minority appeasement' taunts as the reasons for government's failure to fulfil its promises.<sup>10</sup>

#### KEY CONCERNS RELATED TO MSDP

MSDP is implemented with 'area development approach' and thus it does not focus on an individual, a family or a community. It prevents focus on minority specific needs and the problems they face. Minorities are not uniformly distributed in the district, thus schemes intended for them may be diverted to non-minority areas. The NCM found that in Baghpat district of western UP, two polytechnics were sanctioned to be constructed in a area where the minority population was a mere 2 per cent.<sup>11</sup> Provision of MSDP has been widely misused by the biased bureaucracy to divert projects away from minorities especially Muslim areas. Second, it does not cover a large number of Muslims by concentrating only on districts which have Muslim concentration. In this way 60-70 per cent of Muslims who live in the non-MCB/MCT areas have been ignored. Some other concerns are:

1. It suffers from poor planning and projects are decided not keeping in mind the intended beneficiaries. Also schemes were not decided jointly by the states. Even today there is a clear mismatch between the central projects and state requirements.
2. The PSEC in its preliminary report said that it did not perceive any special concern for MCDs. It also stated that the govern-

ment neither properly accessed development deficits in those districts nor made adequate financial resources available.

3. Given the development deficit faced by Muslim concentration areas, the budgetary allocation has been very low. Released amount has been even lower. Utilization of fund has been very poor. During 11th FYP, till 29 February 2012, only 2,667.7 crore was released out of which only 48.25 per cent had been utilized. Utilization by UP, Bihar and WB was 48.08, 45.58 and 63.37 per cent respectively.<sup>12</sup> Between 2007-11 of the Rs. 3,632 crore earmarked for MSDP, just 33 per cent was actually spent. Four states which accounted for significant Muslim population – WB, UP, Bihar and Assam, only WB managed to spend about 51 per cent. UP spent about 33, Bihar 31 and Assam a meagre 20 per cent.<sup>13</sup> As per the MMA during 2012-13, UP utilized a mere 2.74 per cent of funds under MSDP.<sup>14</sup>
4. Physical achievements have been poor and depressing. Mid-term analysis during 11th FYP showed that performance of UP, Bihar, WB and Assam where maximum Muslims reside, had been very bad. Very few of ITIs, IAY houses, primary and upper primary schools, additional class rooms had been constructed in those states. This is attributed to inadequate planning at district and state level, non-submission of detailed project (DP) report on time, uncooperative attitude of local authorities, non-allocation of fund on time, lack of allocation of sufficient funds, poor monitoring and late submission of UCs by the states, etc.
5. Several projects are held up due to local politics in the district.
6. Lack of interest by DMs/DCs in acquiring land for projects is another reason for delay and poor utilization of funds.
7. In 2010 the centre appointed 90 national-level monitors to address the complaints received from 90 MCDs on ineffective implementation and the biased attitude of the government officials. The government could manage to find only 7 Muslim monitors out of 90. So much so that UP, which has the highest Muslim population in India and the largest number of MCDs, had only one Muslim monitor.<sup>15</sup>

Experts say this programme has been defeated – by design, not by default. Muslim leaders say nothing has been achieved from this. The PSC on SJE also criticized the MMA for its unserious attitude towards MSDP and for slow and poor implementation of projects under it. Many of such concerns have been addressed in the 12th FYP. Now unit of implementation are minority concentrated blocks, towns and villages. Some other concerns like non-inclusion of Muslims in BPL list resulting in leaving many deserving beneficiaries, clear directives to local authorities, coordination among agencies, allocation of sufficient fund and review and reporting back of data have not been addressed so far.

#### PROMISES TO KEEP

Few studies on impact assessment of minority schemes in post-Sachar era have been done by independent organizations. One such investigative research was done by a team of researchers led by Harsh Mander. The study *Promises to Keep* was conducted by the CES in collaboration with the Centre for Budget Governance and Accountability Initiative. The researchers visited 3 MCDs: Darbhanga, 24-Parganas and Mewat and met districts and state officials as well as spoke to large number of Muslims.

Major findings of the study: (1) While the policy effort was to address Muslim deprivation, it morphed into one for all minorities by the time the policy reached programme stage and in practice the programme has been reduced to an area-scheme that misses everyone; (2) The institutional structure designed to implement these initiatives, right from the MMA to implementing officials in the district and below, lack conviction, clout and even a clear mandate to directly battle the socio-economic structural discrimination and denial encountered by the community; (3) The political valour and vision that informed the appointment of the Sachar Committee was not matched by that required to build an appropriate and adequate response to the multiple development deficits suffered by the teeming majority of Muslims; (4) The political managers of the ruling combine (then UPA) possibly caution against providing grist to the opposition's (then BJP) charges of 'minority appeasement'.

They fear the political consequences of government being seen as openly taking sides with a community which is currently stigmatized as regressive and violent, globally and nationally. Therefore, they resort to small poorly budgeted almost token interventions; (5) Although the budgetary allocation is very low for minority schemes, it seeks to reverse the grave socio-economic deprivations of a historically disadvantaged community of 177 million people. The per-capita plan allocation of resources for minorities in 2010-11 was as low as Rs. 797, below even allocations for STs of Rs. 1,521 and Rs. 1,228 for SCs. Religious minorities, including Muslims, constitute 19 per cent of the population, but budgetary allocations for schemes designed for them is a little over 5 per cent of total plan allocation; (6) In MCDs, the officials are not required to – and are often actively discouraged from – actually targeting to Muslim dominated villages, hamlets or urban settlements. He says, ‘We found that the programmes selected mostly are neither located in nor benefit the Muslim populations’; (7) In Mewat, the team found a primary school with ‘a dilapidated building, barren courtyard and dingy classrooms’. But instead of spending MSDP funds to upgrade the school, officials preferred to spend it on a neighbouring wealthier non-Muslim village. This pattern was found in all other districts; (8) In 24-Parganas, only 2.2 per cent minority BPL households had been covered by the SGSY scheme and less than 1 per cent of the households had actually received bank credit. Likewise, in MGNREGA, although Muslims constitute 36 per cent of the population and 45 per cent of the job card holders, they accounted for only 13 per cent of the wage employment generated under the programme. In 2010, right up to November, not a single Muslim SHG had received bank credit; (9) In districts officials were demotivated, untrained and often carried general prejudices against Muslims; (10) Poor spending in MSDP is a result of poor design of programmes and weak institutional mechanism; (11) There is a lack of interest among officials, hovering on active resistance to ‘Muslim’ schemes and lack of programme information in the public domain; (12) There is a complete disconnect between minority welfare infrastructure and Muslim civil society, and poor efforts by the government to create awareness of schemes and reach out to



beneficiary groups; (13) There is absence of development oriented leadership and poor Muslim representation in decision making bodies; and (14) The government has to muster the will to politically admit the cumulative neglect and discrimination which has held back the largest minority.<sup>16</sup>

At the end, the report says the failure is not simply of budget, programmes or personnel, but of statesmanship. The government has to first admit the socio-economic deprivation of Muslims and then muster political courage to start interventions which could directly target Muslims. However, instead of taking cue from the report, the government rejected it, citing two reasons: the 'factual inaccuracies' of the report and that plans 'can not be made exclusively for a religious group'. A cross section of Muslims expressed deep concern over the government's summary and 'unjust' rejection of the report. They demanded that the government should take cue from the report and substantially revise its strategy for implementation of recommendations of the Sachar Committee in letter and spirit. Muslim leaders asked the government to take the study seriously.<sup>17</sup> In response to some of the objections raised by the government, Mander revised his report in November 2011 and stuck to his stand. In the revised report, he cited many court rulings and clear findings of the SCR and concluded that Muslim-focused welfare schemes were needed and that was very much possible. However, unequivocal findings of the CES study have not been considered by the government so far.

### BJP's RESPONSE TO MINORITY SCHEMES

Ever since the Sachar Committee was constituted in 2005, the BJP, RSS and all right-wing Hindutva organizations have been opposing and criticizing the creation of the Committee on forums like media, writings, speeches, parliament debates, etc. These reactions have already been discussed in Chapter 3. Although minority schemes do not exclusively target Muslims, they were criticized by the BJP leaders as measures of Muslim appeasement which would divide the nation on sectarian lines. Can welfare schemes which

are announced to improve the socio-economic and educational backwardness of Muslims, divide the nation? Only BJP leaders can answer it. The BJP has used even these schemes as a tool to polarize votes in its favour. 'Neither Muslims nor the Congress, it is the BJP which gets maximum benefits from the government schemes announced for Muslims', says Aasif Rasheed Shaikh, Congress MLA from Malegaon. He said, 'After the announcement of these schemes, the BJP gets a chance to use them as a tool to polarize votes in its favour and against the Congress'.<sup>18</sup> The BJP strongly opposed: creation of sub-quota of 4.5 per cent for OBCs of minorities; Prevention of Communal and Targeted Violence Bill; Earmarking of 20 per cent funds of some ministries/departments for minorities in UP; honorarium for *imams/muezzins* announced in WB and grants announced for *madrassa* modernization in Maharashtra.

As far as the implementation of minority schemes is concerned, BJP-ruled states have always been hesitant and indifferent towards it. In Gujarat then CM Narendra Modi refused to implement pre-matric scholarship scheme. It is now half-heartedly being implemented after the Gujarat High Court order. Gujarat has not been serious about the implementation of the PM's 15-PP. Till June 2015, in the previous two years State Level Committee (SLC) and District Level Committee had not been formed and meeting had not been held in Gujarat.<sup>19</sup> After becoming the minority minister in 2014, Najma Heptulla created controversy by saying that Muslims are too large in numbers to call themselves a minority. Her statement was against the NCM Act, 1992. She also denied that Muslims should or can get reservation. Those statements gave clear indication that Muslims would not be the priority of her ministry. After she became minister, the Maulana Azad portal ([www.maulanaazadheritage.org](http://www.maulanaazadheritage.org)) stopped working. Even the NIC was not aware, as to how the portal stopped working.<sup>20</sup> Under Pradhan Mantri Sansad Adarsh Gram Yojna, Kolu Khedi village which has 35 per cent Muslim population had been short-listed for adoption. Apparently under Sangh pressure, she dropped the idea and adopted Phanda Kalan which has only three Muslim houses out of a population of 4,000.<sup>21</sup> The present Parliament has the lowest number

of Muslim MPs, therefore, the chances of adopting Muslim concentration villages are very low. Also, there is no communication from the government to adopt Muslim concentration villages.

When BJP assumed power at the centre in 2014, several leaders and intellectuals expressed apprehension that implementation of the SCR and the PM's 15-PP would be affected. 15 PP's 4th part, i.e. prevention and control of communal riots (programme nos. 13, 14 and 15) might be discontinued seeing the opposition of BJP to the Communal Violence Bill. Although the present government has not reduced the annual budget allocation of MMA, the ministry has been reluctant on implementation front. The pace of implementation of several schemes has slowed down. MMA's indifference to several schemes is quite evident now. Many schemes have already been closed.

#### SOME OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

1. The 15-PP vaguely mentions that 'certain percentage of the physical and financial targets will be earmarked for the poor beneficiaries from the minority communities'. It does not mention clearly the share/number of beneficiaries which has led to enormous confusion. It needs to clearly mention the financial and physical targets in proportion to the population of minorities in implementing unit. At the same time it should enhance the outlay to 19 per cent of total plan allocation.
2. Merely announcing welfare schemes and funds without actually ensuring their proper implementation, defeats the very purpose of minority welfare. There is a need to enhance coordination among the centre, states, districts and local bodies for planning and implementation. The SLC and DLC need to meet regularly and should have motivated officers as members who can take up the issues on regular basis.
3. The government needs to ensure that the Muslim community receives its due share, according to its population ratio at village/block/ward level, in all welfare schemes and benefits for the poor like housing, food, work, education, etc.
4. The centre should ensure a sub-plan in the budget for minori-

ties at par with sub-plan for SCs/STs, taking into account the share of minorities in the national population.

5. The government should create a special component plan for Muslims for skill development programmes and other economic opportunities.
6. There is a total disconnect between the need of Muslims and programmes which target them. Government should involve Muslim beneficiary groups in the planning and oversight of the schemes and projects.
7. The government should identify problems during implementation of schemes and put in place corrective mechanisms.
8. Annual budget for MMA are always revised downward and even those are not spent fully. The government should allocate at least 19 per cent of total plan allocation and the MMA in turn should ensure timely and full utilization of the funds.
9. Local needs and population of Muslims should be taken into consideration while formulating proposals under the minority schemes especially MSDP. States should submit Detailed Project Report (DPR) on time; the central government should release funds on time and the states should ensure proper utilization and submit UCs on time.
10. Intellectuals have expressed concern over the slow progress and lack of proper monitoring of 15 PP and MSDP. In many cases, funds meant for minorities are diverted to non-minority areas. Government should ensure effective implementation by proper monitoring and sensitization of the officials.
11. The scholarship schemes can be made demand driven and parity with scholarships given to SCs/STs be established.
12. Social audit of minority schemes should be made compulsory.
13. Long standing demand of Muslims to set up a JPC to monitor the implementation will be a step in right direction.
14. To know government schemes and take benefits are the basic rights of deserving beneficiaries. An study in Maharashtra says that 93 per cent backward caste Muslims do not get benefits of any government schemes.<sup>22</sup> Government should use media and other suitable means to create awareness among minorities. It can appoint facilitators for this purpose and help the in-

- tended beneficiaries. Appointment of minority promoters in Kerala is a welcome step which can be repeated in other states.
15. The Government can ask the private sector and big industrial houses to join hands with the MMA as a part of their CSR for skill development, promotion of education and creation of opportunities for employment among minorities.

On the community level, Muslim activists, NGOs and concerned citizens need to monitor these schemes at the grassroot level to ensure their effective implementation. Awareness campaigns within the community are must to avail benefits of government schemes. Religious leaders like *imams*, *maulvis* and *madrassa* teachers can do this at the grassroot level. During the lifetime of the Prophet (*pbuh*) mosques were the centre of all socio-political activities. The role of mosques need to be defined in the present context. Juma sermons can be used to give information about minority schemes. This should not be looked down as 'worldly talks'. Khudai Khidmatgar organized public audit of 15 PP in some districts including Meerut, Malda and Murshidabad. During audit, it came to light that even educated people were not aware about several minority schemes. Such audits can be organized by local NGOs, Muslim organizations, etc. The social service wing of the JIH has released a book titled *A Guide to Uplift Minorities* which reflects procedures to take advantage of the existing schemes/programmes. The book intends to help CSGs as it contains information on how to register and run an NGO. NGOs can publish booklets containing information on status of schemes in the district. Provisions of the RTI can be used effectively to collect information about funds allocation, schemes being implemented, funds spent and status of implementation of schemes. Through RTI, district and block level authorities may be forced to monitor and implement these schemes properly. Many community activists have been using RTI excellently to collect information about 15 PP, MSDP and other schemes.

If these observations are taken in right earnest and implemented honestly, they can bring a noticeable improvement in the socio-economic and educational condition of minorities especially Muslims. Over and above, it would contribute to national development and enhance mainstreaming of Muslims.

## NOTES

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## Status of Implementation of Sachar Committee Recommendations

### BACKGROUND

Before suggesting policy measures, the Sachar Committee made some important observations which are quoted extensively by academicians in their writings as they are path-breaking and unique in nature. Some of these observations are: (1) While there is considerable variation in the conditions of Muslims across states, the community exhibits deficits and deprivation in practically all dimensions of development; (2) By and large, Muslims rank somewhat above SCs/STs but below Hindu-OBCs, other minorities and UCH in almost all indicators analysed; (3) Among the states that have large Muslim population, WB, Bihar, UP Assam, etc., the situation is particularly grave; (4) Despite such deficits, the community has lower IMR and favourable sex ratios; and (5) The perception among Muslims that they are discriminated against and excluded is widespread, which exacerbates the problem.

The committee recommended that the policies to deal with the relative deprivations of Muslims should sharply focus on 'inclusive development' and 'mainstreaming of the community' while respecting diversity. There was an urgent need to recognize diversity in residential, work and educational spaces apart from enhancing inclusion of the really deprived SRCs in 'spaces' created by public programmes and policy interventions. However, the mechanism to ensure equity and equality of opportunity to bring about inclusion should be such that diversity is achieved and at the same time the perception of discrimination is eliminated. It said that that was only possible when the importance of Muslims as an intrinsic

part of the diverse Indian social mosaic was squarely recognized. The committee suggested two types of policy perspectives: (1) General policy initiatives/approaches that cut across different aspects of socio-economic and educational developments and benefit all deprived sections including Muslims; and (2) Specific policy initiatives/approaches that deal with particular issues and which are designed to benefit only Muslims.

TABLE 17.1: SUMMARY OF INITIATIVES/APPROACHES  
SUGGESTED BY THE SACHAR COMMITTEE

Issue/Problems	Brief of Recommendations
A. GENERAL POLICY INITIATIVES	
Data Management	Establishment of 'National Data Bank (NDB)'.
Monitoring & Assessment of Data	Establishment of an autonomous 'Assessment and Monitoring Authority (AMA)'.
Equal Opportunity	Constitution of an 'Equal Opportunity Commission' with legal provisions.
Participation in Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formulating and implementing new nomination procedures (AP Experience).</li> <li>• Establishment of a more rational procedure for delimitation of constituencies.</li> </ul>
Enhancing Diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Incentives to institutions which promote diversity.</li> <li>• Creation of Common Public Spaces (CPSs).</li> <li>• Sensitization of government/relevant functionaries on social diversity.</li> </ul>
B. SPECIFIC POLICY INITIATIVES	
Educational Status	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Adequate reflection of 'social diversity' in school textbooks.</li> <li>• High priority for 'School Education'.</li> <li>• Technical education for non-matriculates.</li> <li>• Initiatives for 'Higher Education'.</li> <li>• Provision of hostels for Muslim students.</li> <li>• Teacher training and creating more teachers.</li> <li>• Intervention to support Urdu language.</li> <li>• Linking <i>madrasas</i> with mainstream education.</li> </ul>

contd.



TABLE 17.1 contd.

Issue/Problems	Brief of Recommendations
Access to Credit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Incentives to banks that open more branches in Muslim concentration areas.</li> <li>● Enhancing access of Muslims to PSL.</li> <li>● Data maintenance on credit given to Muslims.</li> </ul>
Access to Government Programmes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Enhancing access of Muslims to schemes.</li> <li>● Data maintenance on beneficiaries of schemes.</li> <li>● 'Special Development Package' for 58 districts having 25 per cent or more Muslim population.</li> </ul>
Employment Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Financial assistance to self-employed and home-based workers.</li> <li>● Initiatives to increase representation of Muslims in regular jobs of government/public/private sector.</li> <li>● Adopting transparent recruitment procedures.</li> <li>● Keeping one minority member in interview boards.</li> </ul>
Infrastructure	Creation of quality schools, health services, pucca roads, transportation, etc., in Muslim areas.
Basic Facilities	Making provisions for drinking water, electricity, houses, sanitation, toilets, etc. in Muslim areas.
Community Initiatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Improving management of Waqf properties and develop them in efficient manner.</li> <li>● Legal provisions to remove unauthorized encroachments of Waqf properties.</li> <li>● Including government/private sectors in development of Waqf Properties.</li> </ul>
Community Participation	Enhancing participation of Muslims in government policies and programmes.

*Source: Sachar Ki Sifarishin* (Hindi, published in 2012).

The deprivation of Muslims was well known even before the SCR became public. It had been a subject of common discussion at congregations of Muslims, common places, tea-stalls, etc. In the post-Sachar era, the backwardness of Muslims has got an 'official seal' and the SCR has been accepted as an 'authentic document'. Other major achievements in post-Sachar years has been that minorities have emerged as 'development subjects' of the state rather than just 'ethnic and religious groups'. Institution building for development of minorities has been major hallmark of this period

through establishment of the MMA at the centre and Minority Development/Welfare Departments in states, NCMEI Act, the Waqf Act, 2013, etc. However, the policy interventions have not matched with the enormity of deprivation faced by Muslims.

#### CLAIM OF IMPLEMENTATION

In December 2011, then PM Manmohan Singh had rejected the allegations that his government had been sitting on the recommendations and claimed that he drew up schemes and programmes based on Sachar recommendations and those initiatives had began to impact the socio-economic status of minorities. K. Rahman Khan as minority minister had committed that the recommendations would be implemented 'in letter and spirit'. He also promised the early passage of the Communal Violence Bill and fast track the proposal to set up an EOC.<sup>1</sup> During a review meeting held in 2013, he informed that out of 72 recommendations, they had identified 69 and implemented 66 of them. In January 2014, Dr. Manmohan Singh informed that his government had accepted and implemented 72 of 76 recommendations. In December 2014, Najma Heptulla informed that 73 of 76 had been accepted by her government.

However, Muslim leaders and activists have expressed displeasure and have been saying that then PM and most of the Congress leaders had been misleading the nation over implementation. In their view, then UPA government ignored most of the Sachar recommendations. With few exceptions, no important steps were taken on the basis of the SCR for the Welfare of the Muslim community.<sup>2</sup> When NAWADCO was inaugurated in January 2014, Dr. Syed Zafar Mahmood questioned timing of the announcement and expressed displeasure as to why the centre took 7 years in implementing a simple recommendation. He pointed out that the government had not done anything to de-reserve the Muslim dominated constituencies and took the government to task for not implementing the Alternative Admission Criteria (AAC) in colleges and universities. A PSC on SJE concluded that Sachar recommendations were not being implemented in a serious manner. A close study of the follow-up action reports on implementation of Sachar

recommendations reveals that government actions are confined to papers only and no concrete steps have been taken.

#### REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION

Records show that former PM Manmohan Singh had included the review of implementation of the Sachar recommendations among his 19 thrust areas which had formed the core of the UPA-II governance agenda till 2014. Dr. Singh had started monthly review of those thrust areas. This shows that Dr. Singh was personally interested in taking stock of the level of implementation. Similarly, K. Rahman Khan had been holding periodic review meetings with other ministries and departments to monitor the progress on implementation. He toured extensively and took stock of the situation on ground in major states like Bihar, UP, Assam, etc.

Time and again, it has been reiterated that cooperation of states/UTs is must for successful implementation. However, there is no such system of review in the states to measure the depth of implementation. Only UP did some work as then minority welfare minister Azam Khan had constituted a committee under the minority department secretary to study the status of implementation of Sachar recommendations for which the state was responsible.<sup>3</sup>

#### STATUS OF IMPLEMENTATION

The SCR was laid in both houses of Parliament on 30 November 2006. After six months, the list of follow up action on recommendations of the Sachar Committee was approved by the central cabinet on 17 May 2007. The government took several decisions and a comprehensive statement in that regard was laid in both houses of Parliament on 31 August 2007 by then minority minister A.R. Antulay. It formed the basis of follow up action on recommendations of the Committee. The statement along with major findings of the Sachar Committee is available on MMA's website.<sup>4</sup>

- Total recommendations/suggestions in the SCR: 76
- 72 recommendations accepted by the government

- 3 recommendations have not been accepted
- 1 recommendation was deferred

Recommendations which were not accepted:

- Enumeration of castes/groups as a part of the census exercise.
- Creation of an All India Cadre of officers to manage Waqfs.
- AAC to facilitate admission to the most backwards among all SRCs in regular universities and autonomous colleges.

Recommendation which was deferred:

To include Arzal groups in Muslims in the SC list or at least in a separate Most Backward Category (MBC).

- By clubbing recommendations of similar nature, the government took 43 decisions to implement 72 recommendations.
- These decisions are overarching and encompass all minorities.
- 43 decisions are grouped under following focus areas:
  1. Education (15 decisions)
  2. Skill Development (2 decisions)
  3. Access to Credit (6 decisions)
  4. Special development initiatives (2 decisions): MSDP, JnNURM
  5. Measures for affirmative action (4 decisions): EOC, Diversity Index, NDB and AMA
  6. Waqf related matters (4 decisions)
  7. Miscellaneous (10 decisions): Communal Violence Bill, Multi-media Campaign, Delimitation Act, Sensitization, etc.

The responsibility of implementation of 43 decisions has been given to 15 ministries/departments including the MMA. 15 ministries and their related subjects are given in Table 17.2

Recommendation-wise follow up can be accessed from the ministry's website. Similarly, decision-wise follow-up action can be seen here. Follow-up action on many recommendations have been discussed in the preceding chapters. Follow-up action on remaining ones such as establishment of NDB, AMA, EOC, DIX, etc., will be discussed here.

TABLE 17.2: SCHEMES/PROGRAMMES AND CONCERNED  
MINISTRIES/DEPARTMENTS IN FOLLOW-UP ACTION

Implementing Ministry/ Department	Schemes/Programmes
MMA	Pre-Matric Scholarship Post-Matric Scholarship MCM Scholarship Maulana Azad National Fellowship Schemes of MAEF Restructuring of NMDFC MSDP Waqf related matters
MHRD (DSEL)	Sarva Siksha Abhiyaan SPQEM Infrastructure Development of Minority Institutions Rashtriya Madhyamik Shikshan Abhiyan (RMSA) Sakshar Bharat/Maulana Azad Taleem-e-Balighan Jan Shikshan Sansthan Block Institutes of Teachers Education Women's Hostel Mid-Day-Meal (MDM)
M/o HUPA	SJSRY or National Urban Livelihood Mission Basic Services for Urban Poor (BSUP) Integrated Housing & Slum Development Programme (IHSDP)
M/o Labour & Employment	Upgradation of ITIs
M/o Finance (Dept. of Financial Services)	Bank credit under LPSL Opening of new bank branches/awareness campaigns
M/o Urban Development	Urban Infrastructure and Governance (UIG) UIDSSMT Representation of minorities in Urban Local Bodies Exemption of Waqf from Rent Control Act
M/o Personnel, Public Grievances and Pensions (DOPT)	Appropriate training modules to be prepared
MHA	Prevention of Communal Violence Bill
M/o Information & Broadcasting	Multi-media campaign
Ministry of Culture	Annual Meeting with the CWC and protection of Waqf monuments

contd.

TABLE 17.2 contd.

Implementing Ministry/ Department	Schemes/Programmes
Niti Aayog	Assessment & Monitoring Authority
MoSPI	National Data Bank
Ministry of Panchayati Raj	Representation in local bodies
Ministry of Law & Justice	Delimitation Act
M/o Health & Family Welfare	Dissemination of information in vernacular languages

*Source:* MMA (Downloaded on 24 September 2015).

### NATIONAL DATA BANK

Researchers have pointed out the lack of well-defined database of minorities which can be used for multifarious development and inclusive growth. The SCR says, 'Availability of reliable data on a continuing basis across SCRs on socio-economic conditions, participation in government programmes and the like is critical for designing appropriate policies, ensuring transparency and effectively monitoring of various schemes and programmes'. It again pointed out that such data would also make policy instruments like Right to Information Act more efficacious. For this, the SCR recommended creation of an NDB where relevant data for various SRCs would be maintained. It also recommended that details of employment, credit flows, programme participation, etc., should be shared by various national and state agencies and PSUs with the NDB and all these data should be computerized and made available on internet. The follow-up action about NDB states that M/o Statistics and Programme Implementation (MoSPI) has created an NDB webpage on its website where tables on population, education, health, labour & employment (Census 2011 and 2001) have been uploaded under the link 'National Data Bank'.

STATUS OF IMPLEMENTATION: IMPLEMENTED  
(AS ON 31 MARCH 2015)

However, there is no clarity on many counts. For instance, there is no clarity on how detailed data from different states, ministries/

departments and various welfare schemes would be collected to undertake the exercise. There is also no clarity on how the data would be shared with individuals and organizations. Most of the departments are still not maintaining data as per SRCs. Whenever, individuals demand information under RTI regarding representation of Muslims from IITs, IIMs, premier engineering and medical colleges, JNVs, UPSC, SPSCs, etc., the departments file the application with a simple reply that 'the department does not maintain religion-wise data'. The question arises when most of the departments do not maintain religion-wise data, then how can they provide information to the NDB as per SRCs.

#### ASSESSMENT AND MONITORING AUTHORITY

The SCR said, 'Once such data are available there is need to institutionalize the mechanism for assessment and monitoring in order to suggest policy options on a timely basis'. Therefore, it recommended the setting up of an autonomous AMA to evaluate the extent of development benefits which accrue to different SRCs through various programmes.

The follow-up action shows that an AMA was set up in the Planning Commission. The term of the first AMA ended on 15 January 2011 and it was reconstituted and its tenure was extended up to 30 June 2014. The AMA set up three working groups. After detailed discussion on the reports of the these working groups, the report of AMA was finalized and approved in the meeting chaired by Dr. Syeda Hamid, then member, PC on 2 May 2014. It has, inter alia, recommended for having a regular institution of AMA with its own secretariat to periodically monitor and review the efficacy of programmes and to suggest policy measures. The erstwhile PC and now Niti Aayog have suggested that the AMA may be located in the MMA. The issue of location is still under consideration. Meanwhile, the report of the AMA has been circulated to all states/UTs and Ministries of the Central Government for necessary action.

## EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES COMMISSION

The SCR said, 'The minorities, many a time, may feel that there is discrimination against them in the matter of employment, housing, for obtaining loans from the public or private sector banks, or opportunities for good schooling'. For this the SCR recommended setting up of an EOC to look into the grievances of 'all deprived groups'. It also suggested that the EOC may be formed on the lines of the UK Race Relations Act, 1976 which would have legal basis to redress the complains of different types of discrimination.

The PSEC recommended to enact an Anti-discrimination law on lines of the SC and ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act in a bid to put an end to discrimination faced by Muslims in matters of education, employment and housing.<sup>5</sup> The MRC also recommended to frame a special Anti-Discrimination Act on the lines of the above Act in Maharashtra. Former Vice-President M. Hamid Ansari, advocated for an EOC and need to develop a Diversity Index. Besides, several eminent personalities have advocated to establish an EOC with wider coverage and more power to end discrimination in all fields. However, this vital recommendation which was suggested to end discrimination and making equal opportunities a legal right, has not been implemented so far. Follow-up action shows that the draft Bill of the EOC has been approved by the cabinet but has not been introduced in the Parliament.

Developments pertaining to the proposed EOC:

- *31 August 2007*: A Five-member Expert Group (EG) headed by jurist N.R. Madhav Menon was constituted to examine and determine the structure, scope and functions of an EOC.
- *13 March 2008*: The EG submitted its report along with a draft Bill on EOC after studying similar legislations in other democratic nations and the provisions of Indian Constitution, social reality and jurisprudence.
- *June 2013*: A high-level delegation led by K. Rahman Khan visited Britain and met senior British ministers and officials to discuss the framework of the EOC for India.



- *January 2014*: Based on the EG report, recommendations of the GoMs constituted for this purpose and comments/input received from various stakeholders, a proposal for setting up of an EOC was prepared. The MMA moved a cabinet note for this.
- *20 February 2014*: The cabinet approved the draft proposal to set up an EOC through an Act of the Parliament.

The contents of the draft Bill show that the UPA-II lacked political will and sincerity in drafting the Bill and deliberately made it a toothless entity. A look at the features:

Status	:	Statutory institution like the NCM
Role	:	Advisory in nature
Members	:	Three; to be headed by a retired High Court Judge
Powers	:	Can look into complaints against all government departments, but no power to impose penalties. <sup>6</sup>

The Sachar Committee recommended an EOC to address discrimination practised against all deprived groups. These groups may be Dalits, tribals, minorities, women, LGBT, handicapped etc. However, the draft Bill confines to religious minorities only. But there is no logic why EOC should not address discrimination against other deprived groups. It cannot discriminate amongst the discriminated. Irfan Engineer says, 'Such an EOC is less meaningful and discriminatory inviting the charges of Muslim appeasement'. Limiting its scope to only minorities, will certainly give yet another handy tool in the hands of communal forces to demonize Muslims. Besides, it does not address the real systematic injustices experienced by Muslims or other deprived groups.

The Sachar Committee envisioned the EOC as a body that would address grievances against both private and government agencies. However, the jurisdiction of the Bill would be limited to government departments only. Thus, entire private sector, where major discrimination is practised against minorities have been completely left out. The third concern is regarding its toothlessness. The EOC proposed in the Bill is merely an advisory body without any power to impose penalties. It would be only another forum where the victim will keep visiting for the purpose that they would get jus-

tice knowing little that the EOC has no power to do that. It will be another forum to give post-retirement employment to some retired HC Judges.<sup>7</sup> The SCR suggested an EOC which could combat discrimination against all disadvantaged groups to make sure that education, employment, housing and other domains reflect the diversity of our population. The EOC was intended as a body to uphold social equality and mobility to fold together the concern of anti-discrimination and diversity in a single mechanism. This is practised in other countries like the USA, South Africa, Canada and the UK. It was meant to counter institutional bias, whether on the basis of age, gender, caste, ethnicity, linguistic identity or sexual orientation. But the EOC solely for religious minorities and with limited reach to government agencies only, is missing the point.<sup>8</sup> If we analyse the current situation, religious discrimination against Muslims are on a steep rise. Zeeshan Ali Khan, an MBA, was denied a job by a firm in Mumbai because he was a Muslim. Misbah Nayeem Quadir, a PRO employed by a consultancy firm, was forced to vacate a flat in Mumbai because she was a Muslim. She was told, 'The builder does not allow Muslim tenants in the buildings'. Azam Raza Zaidi, an IT professional, was turned down twice in a residential society in Noida. Farah Zeba, an MBA in finance, was bluntly told to look for a house only in 'Muslim areas'.<sup>9</sup> These are cases of discrimination against highly educated Muslims. The common Muslim masses face discrimination on a much higher scale. These are the abuses seen in residential spaces. Discrimination is rampant against Muslims in areas of education and employment, especially in private sectors. These are only a few cases but unnoticed and unreported cases of discrimination in day-to-day life are very high against Muslims in small towns and villages. This is not only a private affair between one citizen and other. It touches the secular fabric of our nation.

Former minority minister Dr. Najma Heptulla while meeting with the UK High Commissioner to India Sir James Bevan, said the centre was planning to set up an EOC, an initiative the BJP had opposed while in opposition. In the new regime, the proposal was circulated for inter-ministerial consultation for obtaining views on the proposal. Some issues have been raised and thus it is being

examined in consultation with the Ministry of Law & Justice. Present status shows that the Bill is still lying with the Home Department. The present government is maintaining a complete silence on the issue by putting it into the deep freeze. It is not in a haste to secure its enactment. The EOC was recommended in 2006. Having sat over the recommendation for 8 years, the UPA-II took decision at the fag-end of their regime. Internal sources say that there was no unanimity within the Congress and among the UPA-II ministers vis-à-vis power and scope of the EOC. That is why it passed it in the cabinet but deliberately avoided to introduce in the Parliament. 'Half a step forward, two steps backwards' is the strategy of the Congress when ensuring justice to Muslims and other marginalized section is concerned.

A new thinking is emerging that the states may frame EOC and make applicable in their areas. Present Karnataka government has done commendable job towards setting up of an EOC. Other states may take guidance from it. However, there is no denying the fact that an EOC with effective power and resources could be an important tool to ensure social equality and diversity in all terms.

#### DIVERSITY INDEX: LINKING INCENTIVES TO DIVERSITY

The SCR recommended implementation of a diversity index (DIx) based incentive system covering all citizens to promote social equality and diversity in all spheres of social and economic development. It says, 'This is a complex proposition but if a transparent and acceptable method to measure diversity can be developed, a wide variety of incentives can be linked to this index so as to ensure equal opportunity to all SRCs in the areas of education, government and private employment and housing'. Incentives can be given in three areas: educational institutions which have a higher diversity; private sectors to encourage diversity in the workforce; and builders for housing complexes that have more diverse resident population to promote 'collective living spaces' of all SRCs.

Pursuant to implementation of the SCR, the government set up an EG headed by Amitabh Kundu on DIx in 2007. The EG

submitted its report in June 2008 and recommended the setting up of a 'Diversity Commission' to oversee the incentivization of diversity, both in public and private domain, particularly in educational institutions, employment establishments and housing societies. Kundu said that DIx-based incentives were necessary to institutionalize equality. He recommended the creation of a system of incentives and disincentives based on the diversity performance of an institution. The EG suggested that all private sector companies that have substantive dealings with the government, public-private-partnership included, ought to annually publish performance on religion, caste and gender-based DIx. It also submitted a conceptual framework of the DIx and its construction along with the proposed Bill of the EOC. Thus, the proposal of DIx is under consideration along with that of EOC.

The PSEC has recommended a DIx-based incentives not only for government and PSUs but in private sectors also. A joint study conducted by IIM, Ahmedabad and ORF underscores the need to enhance diversity in different spaces including economics, education, employment and politics. Former Vice-President M. Hamid Ansari also advocated the need to develop a DIx. In spite of all these advocacies, it has not been implemented so far.

#### DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT AND DIVERSITY INDEX (DDDIx)

The DDDIx is a new index that measures diversity and development for each community at the district level. It has been prepared by collecting district level data on 27 key variables pertaining to consumption and expenditure level, social and physical infrastructure, levels of educational and accessibility to health care about all SRCs. It has been prepared by USIPI in collaboration with CRDDP, New Delhi under guidance of Dr. Abusaleh Shariff. The report covering 550 districts was inaugurated on 29 January 2015 at the hands of then Vice-President M. Hamid Ansari who said the report would go a long way in facilitating inclusion and addressing issues of discrimination and deprivation in India. The index can be used for focused development at Panchayat or village level.

MUSLIM OFFICERS IN MUSLIM  
CONCENTRATED AREAS

The SCR has recommended to post at least one Muslim Inspector or Sub-Inspector (SI) in police stations located in Muslim concentration areas; Muslim health personnel in health units and a few Muslim teachers in schools located in such areas, 'not as a measure to eliminate discrimination but as an initiative to build confidence'. Follow-up action report shows that Department of Personnel and Training (DoPT) has been made the nodal department for monitoring of implementation about this. It has issued instructions to MHRD, MHA and M/o Health & Family Welfare for issuing necessary guidelines regarding posting of Muslim police, health personnel and teachers in Muslim concentration areas. Consequently, Home Department and other two ministries have written letters to states/UTs to post Muslim officers in units located in Muslim areas.

Some observations: (a) States/UTs have shown little importance to this; (b) On unsatisfactory reporting by the states, in 2012 then Home Secretary, through letter dated 9 March 2012, had reminded the states to implement it and send status reports on a half-yearly basis. However, for the half year ending June 2014 only 24 states/UTs furnished information and for half-year ending December 2014, only 14 states/UTs did so; and (c) State/UTs have not been sensitive enough to implement it in letter and spirit.

It is observed that during general transfers on state level, state governments/DGPs post most of the Muslim police officers in side branches and on non-executive posts, e.g. Criminal Investigation Department (CID), State Intelligence Department (SID), Protection of Civil Rights (PCR), Highway Traffic and other branches. Thus very few Muslim police officers land in the districts or Commissionerates who could be posted in the police stations. This means the advisory is not followed in transfers done at the state government and DGP levels. It is also observed that there is no legal basis to implement the advisory.

After Home Secretary's letter of March 2012, the BJP criticized the decision and blamed then government for trying to divide the administration on the basis of religion.<sup>10</sup> Can a measure which was introduced to improve confidence of Muslims in the police divide

the police on the basis of religion? Only the BJP can answer it. On the other hand, it is a tokenism and Muslims are going to benefit very little. Instead of doing this, the home department/state governments should devise some method to improve representation of Muslims in police force. Second, the governments should take steps to sensitize police personnel regarding the social diversity and protection of Muslims as a citizen of India.

## 20 ACTIONS EXPECTED BY MUSLIMS

From the analysis presented here as well as in other chapters, it can be concluded that major recommendations of the SCR are yet to be implemented. Minor ones which could generate less impact have been implemented. The UPA and now the NDA governments have been ignoring major recommendations given in SCR and the RMCR despite systematic and frequent reminders given by the community through media reports, memoranda, presentations, meeting with the ministers, agitation, sit-ins, rallies, etc.

Dr. Syed Zafar Mahmood has highlighted 20 actions that were expected from then UPA and now from the present government. These are presented below and after every item the concerned ministry which has to take action is mentioned.<sup>11</sup>

1. Create time-bound fast-track courts to try terror allegations. (M/o Law)
2. Provide compensation of Rs. 50 lakh to each person who is judicially acquitted of terror allegations. Such amount elsewhere in the civilized world is much higher. (MHA)
3. Make 'Scheduled Caste' definition religion-neutral. Amend 1950 Order through a parliamentary resolution. (M/o Law)
4. De-reserve constituencies with high Muslim population. Immediately appoint the next De-limitation Commission with clear time-bound mandate to remove anomalies. (M/o Law)
5. Evolve procedure to nominate Muslims in public positions of power. In the post-Sachar era, their representation in government has come further down. (Cabinet Secretariat & MMA)
6. Earmark 67 per cent for Muslims out of the reservation to be

- made for all minorities, as Muslims constitute 73 per cent of all minorities. (M/o Law)
7. Create Special Component Plan in the Budget for Muslims for skill development programs and other economic opportunities. (PC & Ministry of Finance)
  8. For the PM's 15 PP, enhance the outlay to 19 per cent of total plan allocation. (PC & Ministry of Finance)
  9. Make the village (in rural areas) and ward (in urban areas) as units of planning for infrastructure schemes (including MSDP) and their implementation. (PC & M/o Finance)
  10. For special recruitment of 1,400 additional IPS officers, scrap the LCE as it pre-empt's Muslim intake. (DOPT & MHA)
  11. Establish Indian Waqf Service on the pattern of several states where senior officers are directly recruited by State to manage Hindu temples & endowments. (M/o Personnel & MMA)
  12. (a) In the Waqf Bill 2013, incorporate all the recommendations of the Sachar Committee and JPC on Waqfs. (MMA)  
(b) Act on then PM Indira Gandhi's letter no. 71-PMO/76 dated 26 March 1976 addressed to all CMs. Vacate Waqf properties occupied by governments in centre and states and restore them to SWBs. (PMO, MMA)
  13. Publicize SPQEM in Urdu & other languages. Rs. 50 lakh granted every year for this has not been utilized. (MHRD)
  14. Establish equivalence between Madarsa and other education. (MHRD, NIOS and UGC)
  15. Introduce Interest-free Banking system. Implement recommendations of the Raghuram Rajan Committee on Financial Sector Reforms. (Niti Aayog)
  16. Central Urdu Teachers Scheme: Follow up and get resolved its non-implementation in most of the states. (MHRD)
  17. Establish an EOC. (MMA)
  18. Institute schemes for incentives based on DIx. (MMA)
  19. Involve Muslim beneficiary groups in the planning & oversight of the schemes & projects aimed at their welfare. (Cabinet Secretariat & MMA)
  20. Concentrate on benefiting the whole Muslim community, not only a few individuals.

These are presented above in almost their original form. These are vital recommendations contained in the SCR and RMCR and if these are implemented in letter and spirit, they can change the fate of the community forever.

Besides, several intellectuals and Muslim organizations have presented unfulfilled demands of the community. These have been presented to prominent political leaders on various forums. It would be difficult to present all these demands due to paucity of space. Their headings are given here so that readers could read and understand the unfulfilled demands of the community.

1. *Modi's Olive Branch to Muslims*: Community needs to monitor 'initial promise to substantial praxis'.
2. Delegation meeting Sonia Gandhi over Muslim-specific issues.
3. Promises to keep.
4. Jamaat-e-Islami Hind releases public manifesto for general elections 2014.
5. Ensure 'Sabka Saath-Sabka Vikas' for Muslims too.

## CONCLUSION

When the first follow-up action report on implementation was presented in the Parliament in August 2007, the AIMMM termed it as 'inadequate' and 'deceptive'. It emphasized that there had been no progress in real terms since the SCR was submitted in November 2006 and while the government knew that the Muslims constituted a backward class – at par with SCs and STs – it lacked the political will to provide reservation for them. Though several schemes had been announced, no funds had been provided to implement them.<sup>12</sup> The report lacked clarity and direction on many counts. While the community expected concrete measures, the government concentrated on insignificant measures which were nothing but tokenism.

Sachar Committee members have also begun to doubt the will and methods adopted by the government to implement the recommendations. Justice Sachar says he finds it 'unfortunate' that the same regime that set up the committee in 2005, hasn't imple-



mented its main recommendations. He says, 'We recommended common schooling strongly, and that school textbooks include multi-faith teachings, to help chip at prejudice which builds up in the absence of knowledge about other religions'. He also says that they recommended an EOC, an all inclusive DIx along with the common schooling. He expresses with regret that these main recommendations which could have benefited all underprivileged sections along with the Muslim community, have not been implemented so far. Dr. Abusaleh Shariff accuses the government of being shy of using the 'M word' and adds that he has 'given up hope'. He says, 'Our report recommended mainstreaming and now the opposite is happening for reasons of political timidity or because isolating Muslims as a community suits them'.<sup>13</sup> In 2013, he admitted 'little improvement' on the ground and also lamented the lack of fundamental shift in politics and policy to help Muslims achieve 'mainstreaming aspirations'.<sup>14</sup> In 'Seeking Fair deal for Muslims', Amar Singh said that in the context of the SCR, the Congress had been trying to play the role of a messiah for Muslims. However, the small steps taken by the party represented nothing but tokenism. He concluded that small and token steps were not going to help Muslims seeing the enormity of their backwardness.

#### COMMUNITY SPECIFIC VS. GENERAL RECOMMENDATION

It is generally observed that the then UPA and the present NDA government have been focusing on community specific programmes and completely ignored general initiatives. While the community specific schemes may invite the charge of 'minority appeasement' and would not benefit them properly, the general initiatives may benefit all deprived sections including Muslims. General initiatives will enhance the process of mainstreaming without any charge from the saffron brigade. However, it is pity that the UPA government only focused on community specific programmes. Rakesh Basant, an economist, said that that was not the SCR but the UPA government's policies which had become a road block in the overall mainstreaming of Muslims. He emphasized that the UPA had not only picked up the recommendations in isolation, but also focused on community specific programmes. He says, 'Typically,

community specific recommendations, which were quite minor in the overall framework of the report, are being focused upon and actually enhanced. As a result, the main recommendations, which were not community specific, are getting sidelined and even being re-cast as Muslim specific'.<sup>15</sup> As general initiative, the SCR recommended creation of NDB; creation of an AMA; setting up of an EOC; formulating and implementing new nomination procedures; setting up of a Delimitation Commission to correct anomalies of reserved constituencies; development of a transparent DIx; creation of common public spaces; and sensitization of public officials about the diversity and social exclusion of Muslims.

These general policy measures, if implemented honestly, have potential to alter the destiny of all deprived and under-privileged sections of Indian society including Muslims. However, it is on record that either these provisions have not been implemented or the government, half-heartedly, has started the implementation of few of them. Some of them are being implemented on paper. Moreover, the government has mainly focused on community specific programmes which reach and scope is limited. Large number of minority-specific programmes that are not only under-funded but largely un-coordinated, are unlikely to have a significant impact. Second, the government has committed a grave mistake by giving the task of implementation to the MMA. The policy-making and implementation should lie with a general ministry such as the Ministry of Home or Finance.<sup>16</sup> General policy initiatives may take some more time and require hard work and policy shift but once implemented, they may change the life of all deprived communities and also enhance the process of mainstreaming.

The task of implementation has been given to different ministries of the central government, majority to the MMA. There is neither any permanent policy tool to control nor any agency to oversee it. Regarding policy tool, following points can be noted:

1. A PSC on SJE has called for bringing a legislation for implementing SCR's recommendations.<sup>17</sup>
2. Amar Singh suggested constitution of a high-power committee representing all political parties to look into implementation.
3. Instead of burdening the centre, some responsibilities should

be given to states which can implement the provisions as per their local needs and social realities. Active participation of states is must for successful implementation.

Major policy initiatives like setting up of NDB, AMA, EOC, DIX, AAC and many such provisions are in the initial stage of their implementation. The government, in a half-hearted manner, has taken some steps. Community activists and intellectuals may take information regarding their implementation under RTI and ask the government to enhance the process. At the same time, deviation of the government can be pointed out. Advocacy on all level is important to get these provisions implemented.

## NOTES

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## Status of Implementation of Rangnath Mishra Commission Recommendations

### INTRODUCTION

The GoI constituted the NCRLM better known as Rangnath Mishra Commission on 29 October 2004 with terms of references as mentioned in Chapter 2. Major recommendations made by the RMC are also presented in Chapter 2. It has basically recommended 10 per cent reservation for Muslims and if it does not happen constitutionally, it recommended creation of a sub-quota from the existing OBC quota. It recommended deletion of the Constitution (SC) Order, 1950 and making it religion neutral so that Dalits of Muslim and Christian communities could be given SC status.

Since the beginning the attitude of the UPA government to the report was indifferent and it tried to defer its presentation in the Parliament. The final report of the RMC was submitted to the government in May 2007, but it was not tabled in the Parliament until it got leaked in the media. Amidst sustained pressure from MPs, the RMCR was finally tabled in the Lok Sabha on 18 December 2009.<sup>1</sup> It was tabled without an ATR. Recommendations of the RMC are strong, effective and path-breaking in nature. These can do wonders, if implemented in letter and spirit. However, experience so far shows that when the time comes to act, usually the governments shy away from translating recommendations into actions. The report has not been accepted and implemented by the government.<sup>2</sup> After it was tabled in the Parliament, the then minority minister Salman Khurshid indicated that the government was not in hurry to implement as it was a matter of 'great

sensitivity'.<sup>3</sup> Social scientists have been arguing that reservation is the need of the hour and there is no other way to bring Muslims at par with other SRCs. The example of Dalits is before us. They had been neglected and faced centuries of exploitation and deprivations in the Brahmanical system. In post-Independence era, due to reservations given to them, their social, economic and educational conditions have improved significantly. Now they are seen in good proportion in government employment, decision-making bodies and all walks of life. Observing this change, leaders and activists have demanded a proper system of reservation for Muslims which suit their need and improve their overall condition.

Former Vice-President M. Hamid Ansari says, 'The official objective of Sab Ka Saath Sab Ka Vikas is commendable; a prerequisite for this is affirmative action (where necessary) to ensure a common starting point and an ability in all to walk at required pace'. He admits that *firqa bandi* and *jaat* (caste) identity is a ground reality and imagery of *Mahmood* and *Ayaz* standing shoulder to shoulder in the same line is confined to mosques only. As a corrective strategy he advocates SC status to Dalit Muslims and proper inclusion of Muslims in the OBC list. Several political parties have registered strong protest against 'intentionally delaying' the implementation of the RMCR and advised that the reservation recommended by the RMC could be enacted only by bringing in new legislations to overcome the present upper ceiling of 50 per cent. Shabir Ahmad Ansari of Maharashtra says that the effective solution to Muslim problem is properly explained in the RMCR and if the government is really serious to improve the condition of Muslims, it ought to implement its provisions. Tarique Anwar of NCP says giving reservation to Muslims is the need of the hour and a suitable amendment in the Constitution is needed for this purpose. Asaduddin Owaisi demanded to take urgent steps to provide reservation to Muslims as per the provisions of the RMC. He said, 'It is very unfortunate that the government tabled the report in the Parliament without an ATR and a commission's report cannot be and should not be tabled without an ATR'. In 2012, the then Tripura finance minister, Badal Chaudhary demanded suitable amendment

of the Constitution to provide reservation to Muslims. In this way, several prominent leaders have argued that giving reservation to Muslims is the need of the hour and a suitable amendment to the Constitution is required to implement the recommendations of the RMC.

### STRUGGLE FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Rallies, sit-ins, voluntary arrests, road blocks, etc., have been witnessed in some states. Due to paucity of space, it is difficult to present details of all these activities. Some prominent ones are presented here. All India Rangnath Mishra Commission Report Implementation Committee, an organization especially formed to pursue the issue and Markazi Majlis-e-Ulema, Maharashtra organized a rally in Aurangabad, Maharashtra, on 28 January 2010 which was attended by 15,000 people. It was addressed by Maulana Wali Rahmani who blamed then UPA for delaying the publication and not implementing the report. On 15 March 2010, thousands of people from different parts of India gathered in Delhi for implementation of recommendations of the RMC.

The PFI had launched a two-months long national campaign for Muslim reservation. Started from Pune on 31 January 2010, a series of rallies, protests, seminars, motorcycle rallies, street meetings, pamphlets distribution, exhibition, posters and cultural shows had been organized in all states across India. A Parliament march was organized on 15 March 2010 as part of the campaign. It campaigned that Muslims should be given reservation in the light of diagnosis done by the Sachar Committee and the recommendations made by the RMC. It demanded: 10 per cent reservation for Muslims; repeal of the Constitution (SC) Order, 1950; granting of SC status to Dalits of Muslims and Christians; discussion on the RMCR in the Parliament; and removal of 50 per cent ceiling on reservation. On 3 May 2010, JUH organized a rally in Kolkata and demanded that the centre and states should implement the RMCR and WB state should give 20 per cent reservation for Muslims. The rally was supported by SIO, People's Democratic Con-

ference of India, WB Madrasa Student's Union, Wasi Memorial Society and Muslim Youth Organization, etc. On 22 May 2010, Muslim leaders and members of prominent Muslim organizations met PM Manmohan Singh and Mrs. Sonia Gandhi and demanded full implementation of the RMCR. They had planned to meet leaders of other political parties to support the issue. The MPJ along with WPI, JIH, Milli Council and other organizations held a protest march in Azad Maidan, Mumbai in November 2011 and demanded the implementation of the RMCR. Mohammad Siraj, president of MPJ said, 'Sachar Committee diagnosed an illness whereas the RMCR suggested the cure and remedies'. They also demanded the then UPA to come out of an imaginary fear created by the RSS and BJP of losing majority vote bank. MPJ organized protest on the issue in 16 districts of Maharashtra. On 14 April 2013, the birth anniversary of Dr. Baba Saheb Ambedkar, the SDPI launched a year long Reservation Campaign during which, it demanded implementation of the RMC provisions. In July 2013, Pasmada Muslim Organization formed an umbrella group to demand implementation of the RMCR provisions, particularly scrapping of para 3 of the Constitution (SC) Order, 1950. On 4 February 2015, Mulnivasi Manch and Maharashtra Action Committee organized Muslim Reservation Conference in Pune in which Asaduddin Owaisi demanded implementation of RMCR.

On 7 March 2007, more than 5,000 members of TMMK marched to the Parliament and demanded the same. On 4 July 2010, the TNTJ held a rally in Chennai and demanded from the central government to give 10 per cent reservation for Muslims and implementation of RMCR. On 14 February 2012, it held protest demonstration in all district headquarters across Tamil Nadu and repeated the demand. On 28 January 2014, it organized a massive Jail Bharo protest across the state pressing to implement 10 per cent reservation for Muslims in the centre and 7 per cent in state. Besides main organizations, lesser known and small organizations and NGOs in all states across India have been agitating and demanding implementation of the RMCR. Unfortunately, these protests and agitations have been ignored by the mainstream media which are dominated by upper caste Hindus.

#### 4.5 PER CENT MINORITY SUB-QUOTA

Indian Muslims do not get justice in normal course. Unless there is a compelling political need, they are not given any economic, educational or political benefits. This was proved by then UPA-II government which created a 4.5 per cent sub-quota for OBCs belonging to minorities from the 27 per cent OBC quota, on the eve of Assembly election in 5 states (including UP) in 2012. Although the RMCR was submitted much before, till December 2011, the government didn't implement any of the recommendations. Suddenly it woke up and started the issue of minority sub-quota before the announcement of the said election. In November 2011, the MMA was learnt to have proposed to the PMO about the creation of 8.4 per cent sub-quota for minorities including 6 per cent for Muslims within the 27 per cent OBC quota.<sup>4</sup>

Contrary to this, the UPA-II on 22 December 2011, just two days prior to the declaration of code of conduct, created 4.5 per cent minority sub-quota through simple Office Memoranda (OM).

1. Through the first OM, the government decided to carve out, with effect from 1 January 2012, a sub-quota of 4.5 per cent for socially and educationally backward classes of citizens belonging to minorities, as defined in clause (c) of section 2 of the NCM Act, 1992 from within the 27 per cent reservation for OBCs as notified in accordance with O.M. No. 36012/22/93-Estt. (SCT), dated 8 September 1993. This OM relates to MHRD which amended the Central Educational Institutions (Reservation in Admission) Act, 2006 and carved out a sub-quota of 4.5 per cent for OBCs of minorities.
2. The second OM No. 41018/2/2011-Estt. (Res.), dated 22 December, 2011 by the Ministry of Personnel, Grievances & Pensions, DOPT, GoI, carved out a similar sub-quota of 4.5 per cent for OBCs belonging to minorities from 27 per cent quota for all OBCs, in appointments and posts under the central government.

In short, the government carved out a sub-quota of 4.5 per cent for OBCs belonging to minorities in education and employment



from 27 per cent OBC quota. The government claimed that it implemented the RMC recommendation and thus created the sub-quota. But the RMC had also recommended that, since among all minorities Muslims constituted 73 per cent, therefore two-third of such quota should be allocated for them. But this rider did not find place in the Order. The OM's were issued to impress the Muslims and reap political benefits. The decision was taken in hurry without much homework and so it met with legal hurdles.

The decision didn't impress many. The CPI(M) termed the decision as 'most inadequate' and 'tokenism', and sought a constitutional amendment to implement 15 per cent reservation for minorities. JIH termed it as an insincere step towards fulfilling the rights of Muslims and a move in sharp contrast with the demands of equity and justice. It said the move of the government violated the very spirit of the recommendations of RMC and SCR. Dr. Zafarul Islam Khan said, 'This is nothing but a complete cheating. It is an election stunt which the electorate will certainly see through'. Dr. Ayyub of Peace Party termed the decision as 'nothing more than a political joke' and an 'election stunt'. He says, 'Muslim electorates are not fools and they will soon see through the manipulative intention of this 4.5 per cent which is just a pittance and won't be of any good to them'. The AIUMB rejected it and said that the community needed what the RMC had recommended, at least 10 per cent reservation. A columnist who writes in the *Inquilab*, says, '4.5 per cent sub-quota of reservation is a fraud with the Muslims'.<sup>5</sup> Mujtaba Farooque, the president of WPI, says, 'It is a cheating with the Muslims'. He also said that Muslims had already been getting 3 per cent share from the 27 per cent quota for OBCs. Creation of a sub-quota of 4.5 per cent where Muslims had to compete with more advanced OBCs of other minorities would reduce the reservation benefit of Muslims. Dr. Manzoor Alam said that even though Muslims were shocked at just 4.5 per cent sub-quota, they hoped that that would be the first step of the much larger reservation for Muslims in future. General perception within the community was that Muslims had to compete with more advanced OBCs of other minorities and thus it would not do any good for their socio-economic backwardness. If at all the UPA

government was serious, it would have given SC status to Dalit Muslims which would have enabled them to get not only socio-economic privileges but political reservation as well.

Whenever reservation is given to depressed communities to correct historical injustices of centuries, it is opposed and challenged in courts by UCH. It is particularly opposed when the reservation benefit is extended to Muslims. The sub-quota was challenged in the High Court of AP by R. Krishnaiah and others through PIL no. 1, 22 and 56 of 2012. The court set aside the sub-quota saying that the government's decision was based on religious grounds. Some important issues raised by the High Court are presented here which would enlighten the readers to understand the issue more closely.

1. The court expressed anguish over the casual manner with which the government took up the issue.<sup>6</sup>
2. No evidence had been shown to the court to justify the classification of these religious minorities as a 'homogeneous group' or as more backward classes deserving some special treatment. The court held that Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Parsis do not form a homogeneous group but a heterogeneous group.<sup>6</sup> As per Mandal I & II, affirmative action can only be considered for a backward identity of homogeneous nature.
3. While issuing OMs, the NCBC has been totally ignored.
4. Huge demographic changes that have taken place after Mandal is not considered by the government.
5. OMs are nothing more than an executive order and that an executive instruction cannot be a substitute for 'law' as postulated by Article 15(5) of the Constitution. This means that the creation of sub-quota has to be on the basis of Law but not through OM.
6. The NCRLM is not a statutory body and its recommendations won't have any relevance to the NCBC Act. The mandate of NCRLM nowhere fulfils the constitutional obligation and can not be solely relied for the present purpose of providing reservations under Article 15 and 16 of the Constitution.
7. Carving out a sub-quota from the existing quota means identifying most Backward Classes for which no empirical data proof is provided in the case at hand.<sup>7</sup>

The community feels that the government was neither serious in creation of sub-quota nor did it show any seriousness in defending it in the High Court. In a complete damage control mode, the centre challenged the order through an SLP in the Supreme Court on 10 June 2012. It also requested the Supreme Court to stay the High Court order in view of many OBC candidates belonging to minorities shortlisted for admission in 15 IITs under that quota. The centre also explained the false appreciation of evidence by the High Court placed before it.

The SCI did not stay the order and expressed displeasure that the centre had filed the appeal without any supporting document. It also refused to give any relief to 325 students who had been shortlisted in JEE 2012 under the 4.5 per cent sub-quota for IITs.<sup>8</sup> The IITs were the first to have implemented the sub-quota in that academic year. After the court refusal to stay the order, the sub-quota then merged back into the OBC quota and the 325 minority students, mostly Muslims, lost their chance to enter IITs.

On 13 June 2012, the government produced the empirical studies and recommendations of the Mandal Commission, the SCR and the RMCR to defend its decision. The court was not convinced and observed that the government memo had no 'constitutional and statutory support'. The court also observed that the sub-quota had been created for 'religious minorities'. Nitish Kumar said that the UPA government had adopted 'wrong means' to provide 4.5 per cent sub-quota for minorities and pointed out that the government should have sought to amend the Constitution.

Since then the matter has been pending before the Constitutional Bench of the Supreme Court. In case of AP's Act for providing 4 per cent reservation for backward sections of Muslims, the SCI stayed the order of the AP High Court and allowed the continuation of the reservation till matter was finally decided. However, in the case of 4.5 per cent sub-quota, it refused to give stay. When this anomaly was pointed out to the court in February 2014, it asked the government to move an application if it sought modification in its 13 June 2012 order. The matter is still pending and there is no movement on the issue in the present regime.

Under intense pressure from Muslims, the MMA had called a

meeting of reservation experts to resolve the issue. Points presented by P.A. Inamdar, a prominent educationist from Maharashtra, is worth mentioning here. He argues that the decision taken by the GoI, in all probability, will be upheld by the SCI when it will hear finally for the following reasons:

1. The Supreme Court of India has directed that issues pertaining to Article 15(4) and 16(4), OMs dated 13 August 1991 and 25 September 1991 and issues related to SEBC reservations must be filed only in the Supreme Court. This observation is mentioned at Para 882(12) of the Mandal Case. This implies that the AP High Court was precluded from entering and deciding issues involved in the PIL no. 1 of 2012.
2. There are no legal necessities to consult the NCBC under the Act of 1993, before taking decision on quota or sub-quota. When new castes are included or old castes are excluded from the list of OBCs, then only NCBC is consulted.
3. Government has power to create sub-quota within quota. This has been laid down by the Supreme Court in the Mandal Case Order at Para 881(5).
4. Observation of the AP High Court that no material demonstrating more backwardness was placed before it is also incorrect. The SCR and the RMCR have been placed on record.

The court argues that the identification has been made on the basis of religion as OBCs belonging to only 'religious minorities' have been included in the sub-quota which has been prohibited by the constitution. Sufficient and compelling data about more backwardness of OBCs belonging to Muslims has been presented and analysed in the SCR which was placed before the court. Evidence showing more backwardness of OBCs belonging to 'other minorities' mentioned in the said OM has not been presented.

In this situation the solution recommended by the PSEC is most appropriate. The central list of OBC can be divided into 'Backward' and 'Most Backward' category. Most of the Muslim artisanal groups can be included in the 'Most Backward' sub-category along with other similarly placed caste groups. For this purpose social and educational backwardness of all OBCs included in the central

list can be measured by applying intense criteria and then after the backward and most backward sub-categories can be created. Muslim OBCs are more backward and they will naturally fall in the later category. This is most suitable solution as same system of reservation is already in practice in Bihar and West Bengal.

#### SC STATUS TO DALIT MUSLIMS AND DALIT CHRISTIANS

Islam prescribes equality among all human beings and thus it does not sanction caste in Muslim society. The Holy Quran and the Prophet's sayings are crystal clear that all human beings are equal. However, Muslims in the Indian subcontinent have developed a hierarchical structure by dividing themselves into numerous castes/*biradaries*. Indian Muslim society is stratified into three groups – Ashraf, Ajlaf and Arzals. Numerous social scientists argue that Muslim society is the mirror-image of Hindu society as it consists of high castes, OBCs, Dalits and tribals. The RMC states, 'The caste is in fact a social phenomenon shared by all most all Indian communities irrespective of their religious persuasions (Para 16.3).' In India, Arzals are the Dalits among Muslims. According to Kumar Suresh Singh Report, there are some 35 Muslim castes that have SC background and are engaged in unclean occupations traditionally associated with Hindu SCs. Some of these castes are: Gadheris, Gorkuns, Mehtars or Bhangi or Halalkhors, Muslim Dhobis, Bakhos, Nats, Pamarias, Lalbegis, Mochi, Mukri, Garudi, Khatiks (butcher)/Chik, Hajjam, Fakir, Rayeen, Bhatiara, Mot, Mirshikar, etc.

As per NSSO estimate there are 2.1 million Dalit Christians and 1.6 million Dalit Muslims. Although Hindu Dalits converted to non-Hindu religions to escape the atrocities of Hindu caste system, yet those caste affiliations never disappeared and stigma and discrimination practised against them continued. The SCR says, 'Change in religion did not bring any change in their social or economic status'. Because of the stigma attached to their traditional occupation, they suffer from social disability and social exclusion. Despite this, they have been deprived of SC status available to their Hindu counterparts.

The Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1950, initially granted SC status to Dalits professing only Hindu religion. It discriminated Dalits on the basis of religion and thus violated Article 14, 15, 16 and 25 of the Constitution. The third paragraph of the order says, 'Notwithstanding anything contained in para 2, no person who professes a religion different from Hinduism shall be deemed to be a member of the scheduled castes'. The argument is that only Hinduism sanctioned caste, converts should technically lose the stigma. However, Sikh Dalits and Buddhist (neo-Buddhists) protested and were granted SC status respectively in 1956 and 1990 by amending para 3. Now this order reads like this: 'No person who professes a religion other than Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism shall be deemed to be a member of a Scheduled Caste'. One should note that Sikhism and Buddhism do not prescribe caste system and follow the principles of equality. Thus Dalits among Hindu, Sikh and Buddhist religion have been granted SC status while those of Muslim and Christian community have been denied this. It is a clear violation of the secular character and basic feature of the Constitution. It is a grave injustice that a Dhobi, a Nat or a Halalkhor if he is Hindu, Sikh or Buddhist, will enjoy SC status but if a Muslim or Christian is kept out of SC net.

The RMC recommended that the Order should be deleted as it discriminated Dalits on the basis of religion. The SC status be made religion-neutral. It means Dalits among all religion, including Muslims and Christians, will be entitled for SC status. Unfortunately, even after eleven years of the RMCR, the government has not accepted this vital recommendation and Dalits among Muslims and Christians are deprived of their genuine rights. The UPA government neither did delete it through Legislative means nor filed reply in the Supreme Court in response to the several PILs challenging the validity of the said Presidential Order. The Modi government has silently filed a reply in the Supreme Court and said that it is 'not agreeable to' granting SC status to dalits belonging to Muslim and Christian communities. The Union SJE Minister Thawar Chand Gahlot informed, 'our government has given in writing to a court that it does not agree with the reports of the Rangnath Mishra Commission or the Sachar Committee'. He feels

that granting SC status to Dalit Muslims and Dalit Christians will encourage 'religious conversion' and such step would 'weaken the Hindu religion' (*The Deccan Herald*, 15 February 2016). Important developments related to the issue are presented here which would enable the readers to understand the issue in totality and to take the fight in a proper direction.

#### POLITICAL AND LEGISLATIVE SUPPORT

Since 1950, whenever Dalits of Sikh and neo-Buddhist origin protested against the order, and demanded SC status, assurances were also given to Christian Dalits. Due to lack of awareness about the issue, Muslim leaders started their effort much later.

- Shortly after passage of the said Order, Christian leaders protested and submitted memorandums. Then PM and president through their letters dated 7 November 1950 and 17 December 1950 respectively gave assurances to the Christian leaders.
- Late Rajiv Gandhi had promised SC status to Christian Dalits.
- When V.P. Singh government decided to grant SC status to Buddhists, the Congress party had openly demanded the inclusion of Christian Dalits into the SC list along with neo-Buddhists. Following that V. Narayanaswamy introduced an Amendment Bill to include Dalits among Christians in the SC list along with the neo-Buddhists. In the tenth Lok Sabha, the Congress party had fully supported it.<sup>9</sup>
- On 1 May 1995 about 500 MPs cutting across party lines submitted a memorandum to the then PM P.V. Narsimha Rao and demanded inclusion of Christian Dalits in SC list and to bring a Bill for this during ongoing session of the Parliament.
- On 3 March 1996, the then Social Welfare Minister had prepared a cabinet note to include Dalit Christians in the SC list.
- The Cabinet approved the proposal on 7 March 1996 and decided to introduce the required Bill. It was included in the agenda of the Lok Sabha and the Bill was brought into the House on 12 March 1996. Due to technical reasons it could not be taken up for discussion as it happened to be the last day of the last session of the tenth Lok Sabha.

- During the eleventh Lok Sabha election campaign, the Congress party, the Left Party and other regional secular parties had included the issue in their election manifestos.<sup>10</sup>
- The following union government led by Deve Gowda also took a cabinet decision to include Dalit Christians in the SC list.
- Forum of SC/ST MPs has supported the issue time and again.
- A.R. Antulay and K. Rahman Khan as minority minister supported the demand of Dalit Muslims and Christians.
- In 2012, the CPI(M) demanded that Dalit Christians and Muslims be given SC status.
- On 9 December 2011, Haji Rasheed Masood, then Rajya Sabha MP, brought a Bill to amend Articles 341 and 342 of the Constitution to give SC/ST status and all statutory benefits to Dalits of Muslim community.<sup>11</sup> In December 2015, IUML's E.T. Mohammad Basheer presented a Bill in the Lok Sabha which demanded SC status for Muslim and Christian Dalits.

The injustice was done by the Congress party during the Jawaharlal Nehru regime by passing the unconstitutional SC Order. If we analyse the political support till date, we find that it has always been a half-hearted and deceptive. All political parties especially the Congress have been under pressure of right wing organizations mainly the RSS. They feel that if they give justice to these two deprived communities they may lose the majority vote. Clear support and honest attempt have not been shown by any major political parties so far.

#### RECOMMENDATION OF VARIOUS COMMISSIONS

Several commissions and statutory bodies have supported the demand of Dalit Muslims and Dalit Christians.

1. Kaka Kalekar Commission (1955) said that within Christian society and Church, converts of Hindu SCs origin were discriminated against as they were not allowed to sit together in the church; no inter-caste marriages were allowed and there were separate cemetery for them. Although Christianity does



- not preach caste it does practice the caste system. Thus Christian Dalits deserve to be listed as SCs.
2. The Mandal Commission (1980) says, 'Conversion from one faith to another did not change the socio-economic status of a person. It was, therefore, desirable that converts from Scheduled Castes to Buddhism, Christianity and, etc., should be treated as Scheduled Castes, but until this change was brought about by legislation, all converts should be listed as Other Backward Classes (OBCs)'.
  3. Elayaperumal Commission (1969) says, 'The Committee found during tours that all Scheduled Castes who got themselves converted to religions other than Hinduism should be given all concessions which are available to Scheduled Castes. This is because the Committee found during tours that they suffer from the same disabilities which the Scheduled Castes suffer'.
  4. The NCM, in its third Annual Report (1980) says, 'The Commission has prima facie felt that since the Christians, Muslims and Buddhists of Scheduled Castes origin continue to suffer from social and economic disabilities even after their conversion, there should be no objection to their availing of the concession admissible to them before their conversion.' In 2009, during a parliamentary debate, Salman Khurshid informed that, since 1997, the NCM had recommended the outright removal of the Constitutional (SC) Order, 1950 which confined SC status to only three religions – Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism. He also cited the Annual Report 2006-7 of the NCM which recommended 'Christian and Muslim Dalits be given the benefits of affirmative action through reservation'.
  5. The National Commission for Scheduled Castes (NCSC) in October 2007 has resolved to support the RMCR. The NCSC has given its consent for the inclusion of Dalit Christians and Dalit Muslims in the SC list with the rider that the existing quota should not be disturbed and the government should increase the overall quota if it goes ahead.
  6. The Sachar Committee accepts the presence of Dalits among the Muslim community, i.e. Arzals and recommends that 'being at the bottom of the social hierarchy, the Arzals (SCs) are

the worst off and need to be handled separately. It would be most appropriate if they were absorbed in the SC list or at least in a separate category'. It argues that the Order of 1950 is inconsistent with the Articles 14, 15, 16 and 25 of the Constitution and recommends its deletion.

7. The Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination during its 70th Session in 2007, concluded, 'The committee notes with concern that Dalits who converted to Islam or to Christianity to escape caste discrimination reportedly lose their entitlement under affirmative action programmes, unlike converts who became Buddhists or Sikhs. The committee recommends that the state party the eligibility for affirmative action benefits of all members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes having converted to another religion'.
8. The RMC says, 'So the Presidential Order of 1950 for Scheduled Caste is unconstitutional and it is a black letter written, outside the Constitution introduced through the back door by an executive order. Para 3 of the Presidential Order is anathema which disfigures the beauty of the written Constitution of India' (RMCR, vol. I, p. 141). It again says, 'In view of what has been said above, we recommend that para 3 of the Constitution (SC) Order, 1950 – which originally restricted the Scheduled Caste net to the Hindus and later opened it to Sikhs and Buddhists, thus still excluding from its purview the Muslims, Christians, Jains and Parsis, etc. – should be wholly deleted by appropriate action so as to completely delink the SC status from religion and make the Scheduled Castes net fully religion-neutral like that of the Scheduled Tribes' (ibid., p. 154).
9. The MRC has recommended that Indian Dalit Muslims should be included in the SC category.<sup>12</sup>
10. The PSEC recommends that the Dalit Muslims must be taken out of the OBC list and incorporated in the SC list. This can be done on the principles recommended by the NCRLM.

Besides above-mentioned commissions, Chidambaram Commission, Backward Classes Commission of AP, Kumar Pillai Commission

of Kerala and Satanatan Commission have also recommended the inclusion of Muslim and Christian Dalits into the SC list.

#### LEGAL BATTLE

Upset with the half-hearted political support and deceptive attitude of the central government, Muslim and Christian organizations have, now, decided to fight legal battles to get the said Order deleted. Centre for Public Interest Litigation (CPIL) through its General Secretary and T. Franklin Caesar of Tamil Nadu filed a writ petition no. 180/2004 on 22 March 2004. To expedite the judicial process two other organizations, All India Christian Federation and United Front for Dalit Christian have filed another PIL in the SCI. On 4 January 2011, the Court said that it might refer the issue to a larger bench and termed the issue as 'sensitive' and 'important'. During the ninth hearing held on 16 February 2010, the court informed that the GoI was considering implementing the recommendations of the Mishra Commission. The government sought time on at least 8 occasions for filing its reply.

On 25 January 2008, Akhil Maharashtra Muslim Khatik Samaj (AMKS) filed a writ petition no. 13/2008 in the Supreme Court challenging the constitutional validity of the said SC order and demanded SC status for Muslim Dalits. The PIL concludes that Muslim Dalits (Arzals), Hindu Dalits and Christian Dalits are one and the same. The PIL cites the example of Khatiks (Hindu Butchers) who have been declared as SC while Muslim Khatiks, Kasai, Bakar Kasab, differentiated only by names and titles are denied of the same right in spite of carrying on the same profession and being at par socially, economically and educationally with Hindu Khatiks. Petitioner in the PIL Hasanuddin Shaikh claims that he filed the PIL on behalf of all Dalit Muslims of India. Mushtaque Ahmad, counsel in the PIL, says that the government should amend the said order and grant SC status to Muslim Dalits. On 21 January 2011, the SCI framed question to test the validity of the demands made in WPs in the light of the RMCR. The then Solicitor General said that the issue of amendment to the said Presidential Order should be left to the Parliament and could not be done through courts (*The Times of India*, 22 January 2011).

To file the affidavit the Government of India called opinion of states governments and State Assemblies. Many states including AP, TN, UP, Punjab, Bihar, WB and Puducherry have supported to give SC status to Muslim and Christian Dalits. Many CMs have written to the PM recommending the same. Besides, many individuals and organizations have filed PILs challenging the same.

#### ATTITUDE OF COURTS

Courts have given mix responses on the issue of presence of Dalits among all religions and constitutional validity of the said order. Some courts have accepted the caste reality of Indian society and presence of Dalits irrespective of religions, while some of them have rejected the claims of Muslim Dalits on SC posts without questioning the constitutional validity of the said Order.

1. The SCI in the case of *S. Anbalagan vs. Devarajan* (AIR 1984 SC 411) observed, 'The practice of caste, however irrational it may appear to our reason and however repugnant it may appear to our moral and social sense, it is so deep rooted in the Indian people that its mark does not seem to disappear on conversion to a different religion'.<sup>13</sup>
2. In *Jiwajiraja Sindhia Bahadur Madhav vs. UoI*, the SCI held that Para 3 of the Order of 1950 is an anathema which disfigured the beauty of the written Constitution of India.<sup>14</sup>
3. In *Kesavananda Bharati vs. State of Kerala*, the SCI said that under Article 341 of the Constitution, the President has no authority to proclaim the para 3 of the Scheduled Caste Order contrary to Articles 15(2), 16(2), 29(2) and it is also against the basic structure of the constitution.<sup>14</sup>
4. In *Soorai vs. UoI* 1985 (Supp) SCC 590, the SCI had accepted that the caste continued even after conversion.<sup>14</sup>
5. In *Indira Sawhney vs. UoI*, the SCI, in a majority view came to the conclusion that caste is not confined to Hindu religion only but it extends irrespective of the religious persuasions. It observes that the impugned Order is required to be struck down.<sup>14</sup>

In spite of positive observations of the Supreme Court in the above-mentioned five famous cases, the SCI as well as many high courts have rejected the claims of Muslims and Christian Dalits on posts reserved for SC candidates. Three cases have been mentioned in Chapter 15 of this book where the Supreme Court and two high courts ruled that within the meaning of the said SC Order, to be an SC, a person must be one who professes either Hindu or Sikh or Buddhist religions. In those rulings, the courts had not questioned the constitutional validity of the Order.

In February 2015, the SCI ruled that a Dalit whose parents or grandparents embraced Christianity would get the benefits of reservation meant for SC, if he converts to Hinduism.<sup>15</sup> By this adjudication the highest court has given a huge fillip to 'ghar wapsi'. Considering the fact that the majority of Christians and Muslims converts were originally Hindu Dalits, the judgement is an inducement and attractive material for converting to Hinduism.

#### STRUGGLES AND AGITATIONS

Ever since the Constitution (SC) Order, 1950 was passed, Christians started demanding SC status for Dalits among them. Muslims were late to join the struggle due to effect of Partition and lack of awareness. Now these two communities have been struggling together. All India Pasmanda Muslim Mahaz of Rajya Sabha MP Ali Anwar Ansari organized a conference on 1 July 2010, where Nitish Kumar advocated inclusion of Dalit Muslims in the SC category and said that discrimination on the basis of religion was not good for democracy. On 21 July 2010, thousands of Christians and Muslims held a protest rally at Jantar Mantar. Muslim Reservation Movement (MRM), a non-political body was formed to follow-up the issues of reservation, which, in October 2011 demanded to amend the Constitution to include Dalit Muslims in the SC category. On 16 December 2011, hundreds of Muslims and Christian Dalits organized a joint rally in Bhubaneswar. All India United Muslim Morcha of Dr. Ejaz Ali organized a conference on 12 May 2012 in Delhi where Baba Ramdev supported the demands and promised to support the issue wholeheartedly.<sup>16</sup>

Catholic Bishops' Conference of India along with many Christian organizations, on 22 February 2013, launched a one million post-card campaign for the issue. All India Jamiat-ul Hawareen, under Hafiz Ahmed Hawareen has been organizing protest rallies, conferences, etc., to create awareness. In August 2013, Muslim Social Organizations and Muslim leaders from all political parties formed a non-political 'Movement for Restoration of Reservation for Muslim Scheduled Castes' in Mumbai. It held a huge rally in Azad Maidan on 27 November 2013 and demanded SC status for Muslim Dalits. On 11 December 2013, thousands of Christians and Muslim Dalits from all over India organized a protest rally at Jantar Mantar. On 18 December 2013, 10 Muslim MPs wrote a letter to the PM demanding SC status for Muslim Dalits. Since 17 February 2014, Rashtriya Ulema Council held an indefinite protest and hunger strike at Jantar Mantar. In March 2014, a delegation of Muslim leaders met Sonia Gandhi and handed over a memorandum that had several demands including this issue. On 10 August 2015, 200 Christian and Muslim Citizens sporting black badges on shoulders protested in New Delhi and demanded equal rights for Dalit converts. Various Muslim OBC organizations on 10 August 2015, submitted a memorandum to the DM of Dhule to be forwarded to the President which demanded amendment to the said Order and equal rights for Muslim Dalits.

On 3 March 2008, P.J. Kurien, Sharad Yadav and Tarique Anwar raised the issue of Dalit Muslims and Christians in the Rajya Sabha and sought reply from then SJE minister Mrs. Meira Kumar. Her reply was most evasive which aptly represented the Congress position on the issue. She said that Hinduism included Sikhism, Jainism and Buddhism too and the government cannot raise reservation beyond 50 per cent. She also said that the matter had been referred to the NCBC and the report was being awaited. The Congress attitude on the issue was not honest and it had always tried to postpone the matter. With the change in regime the attitude of the government has become totally unfavourable as SJE minister Thawar Chand Gehlot has said that his government is not in favour of reservation for Dalit Muslims and Dalit Christians. The present government has silently filed a reply in the Supreme Court that it

is not 'agreeable to' granting SC status to Dalits belonging to Muslim and Christian communities. The government admits that it will encourage religious conversion. After analysing all these aspects, one comes to the conclusion that the Supreme Court has to decide the matter in the light of the constitutional provisions and evidences and reports already submitted to it.

#### RESPONSE OF RIGHT WING ORGANIZATIONS

As discussed in Chapter 3 and other chapters of this book, the right wing organizations like the RSS, BJP, VHP, etc., have been against policies and programmes which are designed to empower Muslims educationally, economically, socially, etc. They have been vocal against the implementation of the RMC recommendations, particularly the creation of sub-quota and granting SC status to Muslim and Christian Dalits. In December 2011, *Panchjanya* questioned the social and ethical basis of creating a sub-quota for Muslims and termed it as a part of government's Muslim appeasement policies. It criticized the move as backdoor politics to provide reservation to Muslims and reminded that the Constitution prohibited reservation on the basis of religion.<sup>17</sup> In its Pratineedhi Sabha (Representative Council) meeting held in March 2012, the RSS said that creating a sub-quota of 4.5 per cent was inappropriate. On the next day of the creation of the sub-quota, BJP vice-president Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi said, 'The quota within quota is Congress party's dangerous political game, which can lead to a civil war among the different communities and castes'.<sup>18</sup> It is on record that not a single clash or civil war is reported on the issue of minority sub-quota till today. In the last week of December 2011, when minority minister was making a statement in Lok Sabha on sub-quota, BJP members shouted slogans against it and tore the copy of the statement.<sup>19</sup> On 2 January 2012, VHP leader Pravin Togadia termed the creation of sub-quota as an *Aurangzebi shad-yantra* (Aurangzebian conspiracy) to deprive the Hindus from employment and education. He also termed it as 'Reservation Jihad' for which he would start a nation-wide protest.<sup>20</sup> A VHP delegation submitted a memorandum to the Collector of Nanded and pointed

out that the decision was unconstitutional and appealed for withdrawal at once.<sup>21</sup> On 4 January 2012 at Lucknow Togadia demanded to reject the Sachar Committee Report and the RMC. On the following day at Kanpur, he blamed the UPA for ignoring the interest of Hindus and threatened to launch a nation-wide agitation and go to the court if the government did not reverse the decision.<sup>22</sup> When the Supreme Court refused to stay the AP High Court order, the BJP welcomed that and termed the sub-quota as Congress party's 'communal agenda'.<sup>23</sup> As the 'first quote' after becoming minority minister, Najma Heptulla questioned the move of reservation for Muslims.<sup>24</sup> While passing the Constitution (SC) Orders (Amendment) Bill, 2014 to add some castes to the SC list, SJE minister Thawar Chand Gehlot said that his government was not in favour of reservation for Dalit Christians and Dalit Muslims.<sup>25</sup> On another occasion he said, 'Allowing SC status (to converts to Christianity and Islam) would provide a fillip to religious conversions. The demand is not constitutional and we want to work within the parameters of the statute for welfare of "these communities" (read Hindus, Sikhs and Buddhists)'.<sup>26</sup>

Thus, right wing organizations are against granting SC status to Muslim and Christian Dalits because they feel that it would be an incentive for religious conversions. To correct social, economic and educational deprivation of an SRC, a government can always take corrective measures based on recommendations of expert committees. This is well within the mandate of a democratically elected government. Second, reservation has been the primary means of addressing social and economic inequality since Independence and the government is well within its right to include any caste or community in the ambit of reservation. Opposition of right wing organizations to measures of Muslim reservation is not justified. The RSS, BJP and affiliates are pursuing a fallacious and highly divisive argument by comparing the backward Muslim sub-quota to 'the separate electorate' and 'communal agenda'. How can this measure lead to a civil war among different caste and communities. They are advised to rethink their stand as Muslims and Christians are the original inhabitants and equal citizens of India.



## CONCLUSION

Under intense pressure from MPs, media and community activists, the centre presented the RMCR in the Parliament in December 2009 without an ATR. The UPA government did not make any genuine attempt to implement the recommendations. There is also no hope from the present regime as they are against all forms of Muslim empowerment. The UPA government, half-heartedly and without any positive intention, attempted to create a sub-quota for OBCs belonging to minorities. The order had no statutory support and had been created purely by an executive order. It was quashed by the AP High Court and the SCI didn't give any relief. On Dalit Muslim and Dalit Christian issue, the government intentionally avoided filing reply in the Supreme Court.

Government has mandate for social justice and it is well within its legitimate right to make sub-categorization among OBCs which would lead to more equitable distribution of benefits of reservation among the castes/communities included in the broad category of OBC. Thirty states and UTs have their own list of OBCs and 9 of them have sub-categories in the list of OBCs. Instead of a sub-quota for OBCs of minorities, the government can create a sub-quota as suggested by the PSEC. Muslim OBCs are most deprived who will naturally come under the sub-quota along with the deprived OBCs of other religions.

Mahatma Gandhi had once observed, 'Whether the harijan is nominally a Christian, Muslim, Hindu or Sikh, he is still a harijan. . . . He may change his garb and call himself a Catholic harijan or a Muslim harijan or a neo-Sikh, his untouchability will haunt him during his lifetime.' Dr. B.R. Ambedkar asks, 'What good is Christianity for a Hindu if it does not do away with his caste?'<sup>27</sup> Most anthropologists have accepted the presence of Dalits in Muslim and Christian communities. The Constitution (SC) Order, 1950 is a black spot on the Constitution and against the basic structure of secularism and freedom of religions. The constitutional provision of SC status to Dalits of Hindu, Sikh and Buddhists but the denial of the same to Dalit Christians and Dalit Muslims is tantamount to licensing and sanctioning discrimination on the basis of religion. In this scenario the Supreme Court can decide the matter

on the basis of historical and social realities of India, material placed on record and outright violation of the Constitution of India.

In an Article, Mohammad Shahid writes, '... it is constituency of vote bank politics, not the principle and ideology or sense of justice that influences the decision of our politicians on an issue'.<sup>28</sup> It is the strength of vote of a community that decides reservation not the sense of social justice and depth of deprivation. Muslim OBCs (more backward than most other OBCs) have been denied of sub-quota and Christian and Muslim Dalits have been denied of SC status because the governments think that by doing so, they may lose majority community vote. Muslim leaders of all political parties should study the issue of reservation more closely and deeply. Muslim castes can get reservation on the basis of their social and educational backwardness as Hindu OBCs, SCs and STs are getting. They should give up the demand of reservation for the whole community. Reservation on the ground of religion will not pass legal scrutiny and unnecessarily communalize the issue. They should categorize the castes under OBCs, SCs and STs and then demand for share in the reservation already given to Hindu counterparts. The intention of the central government as well as majority of the state governments is not fair regarding the issue of reservation for Muslim backward castes including Muslim Dalits. Muslims should fight this injustice in a planned way. They can peacefully agitate, protest, organize rallies, hold workshops, etc., and can create awareness among the public. They can educate even political leaders who at present are not supporting the issue. Even we can have a dialogue with the important leaders of the RSS and other Hindutva organizations. Muslims should act in a way that could force the political parties to concede their demands. Besides, they have to continue the legal battle for the issue of SC status to Muslim Dalits.

## NOTES

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3. *Ibid.*, 23 December 2009.

4. Ibid., 28 November 2011.
5. *Inquilab*, Mumbai, 29 December 2011.
6. *The Indian Express*, Pune, 29 May 2012.
7. High Court Judgement in PIL No. 1 of 2012: *R. Krishnaiah vs. Union of India*, dated 28 May 2012.
8. *The Indian Express*, Pune, 12 June 2012.
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11. *Inquilab*, Mumbai, 10 December 2011.
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13. [www.countercurrents.org/chandra060810.htm](http://www.countercurrents.org/chandra060810.htm)
14. The Rangnath Mishra Commission Report, 2007.
15. <http://twocircles.net/2015feb26/1424966130.html>
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24. Ibid., 28 May 2014.
25. <http://twocircles.net/2014dec08/1418052529.html>
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## Reports after Two Reports

### THE CONTEXT

After SCR and RMCR, there is a spurt in committees and commissions being constituted to evaluate the socio-economic and educational condition of Muslims in India. In some cases, there is true concern to know the exact condition of Muslims to design corrective measures to address socio-economic and educational deficits. However, in many cases, these are being done solely to pacify the growing aspirations of Muslims regarding socio-economic upliftment. Few NGOs have also brought out some eye-opening reports on conditions of Muslims. All these reports have indicated poor condition and advocated major policy initiatives. Unfortunately, the findings and recommendation of these reports have been completely ignored by the respective governments and none of these have been implemented. The setting up, major findings and roadmaps suggested by the committees are discussed here.

### POST-SACHAR EVALUATION COMMITTEE (PSEC)

After 7 years of SCR, the community leaders had been feeling that the schemes/programmes initiated in the wake of the report, had not been benefiting the community. The MMA had been receiving a barrage of complaints and a perception was widely shared by people inside and outside the government that welfare schemes for minorities had failed to reach the intended beneficiaries. Many of the schemes were misdirected and there were poor budgetary allocations for flagship schemes. To overcome that perception, K. Rahman Khan decided to constitute an evaluation committee. By a notification No. 9-2/2013-PPI, dated 5 August 2013, the

MMA constituted a committee to evaluate the process of implementation of the decisions of the government on the recommendations made by the Sachar Committee, to assess the efficacy of the PM's 15 PP and to also assess the impact of the programmes initiated by the MMA and other ministries. The committee constituted under Amitabh Kundu was directed to submit a preliminary report in December 2013 and the final report by February 2014.

Due to financial constraints and other administrative delays, it could not start its work on time. It submitted the interim report in March 2014 which revealed little improvement in the socio-economic condition of Muslims due to poor implementation of Sachar recommendations. Narendra Modi invoked the findings of this report in his election speeches and blamed the Congress party for poor condition of Muslims. Besides his constituency of majority vote, he tried to influence the Muslim voters by the report. The PSEC submitted its final report to then minority minister Najma Heptulla on 9 October 2014 and she promised to implement the provisions after studying it as early as possible.<sup>1</sup>

#### MAJOR FINDINGS

Minorities have emerged as developmental subjects of the state rather than just being 'ethnic and religious groups'. Institution building for development of minorities has been major hallmark of the period through establishment of MMA, Minority Development Department in states, NCMEI, NAWADCO, etc. Passage of specific Acts and launch of some specific schemes have been noticed in this period. The PSEC also notes that though a start has been made in addressing development deficits of the community, state interventions have not quite matched in scale with the large number of marginalized. Other findings are: (1) 'exclusionary urbanization' with decline in shares of Muslims in rural-urban migration; (2) low share of Muslims in government and PSU employment; (3) Muslims share in PSL is low; (4) lack of fund plagues schemes of PM's 15 PP; (5) rise in school enrolment but high dropout rate; (6) inadequacy of health infrastructures in Muslim areas persists; (7) with some exceptions government scholarship

schemes doing very well; and (8) outcome indicators for Muslims at all levels of education are closer to the ST community.<sup>2</sup>

#### MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Anti-Discrimination Legislation to prohibit discrimination based on disability, sex, caste, religion and other criteria;
2. Formulation of a DIx which should include spheres of education, employment, housing, health care, access to development schemes and various other sectors and seek to provide remedies;
3. DIx and Anti-Discrimination Legislation can help build a more equitable society that can go beyond group-specific quotas;
4. Dalit Muslims must be taken out of the OBC list and incorporated in the SC list;
5. Muslim OBCs can be placed under the 'Most Backward' sub-category along with the OBCs of other religions based on the criteria of socio-economic backwardness;
6. Better social and physical infrastructure in Muslim areas;
7. Social audit of minority schemes; and
8. Expansion of PM's 15 PP to include MGNREGS and Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojna.

Link of the report: [iosworld.org/download/Post\\_Sachar\\_Evaluation\\_Committee.pdf](http://iosworld.org/download/Post_Sachar_Evaluation_Committee.pdf). The contents of the report have not been made public officially. Moreover, it has not been presented in the Parliament and discussion has not been held on its findings. While receiving the report, the minister was kind enough to make a promise to take action as early as possible. Instead of acting on its recommendations, the MMA has questioned the very basis of the PSEC. In an internal document the ministry said that most of the data used by the PSEC was from the formative stages of the ministry and some even predated it and hence the evaluation of the committee could hardly be reflective of its functioning. The MMA says the PSEC analysed the conditions of Muslims only, rather than analysing outcome indicators of all minorities. It also raised questions about sample size, lack of state inputs and methodology adopted for compilation of the report. But Amitabh Kundu has

rejected all these charges and said that though the thrust was on the condition of Muslims, it did analyse the outcome indicators for other minorities. He also asserted that the report has used latest available NSSO and Census data.<sup>3</sup> Besides, PSEC has used surveys of independent agencies and compared all SRCs in its final report. Raising question on the veracity of the report is indicative of the present governments' negative attitude towards Muslim empowerment. It may dump the report without making it public and without holding discussion in the Parliament.

Asaduddin Owaisi questioned the attitude of the government during a discussion in the Parliament and blamed that the centre had not acted on any of the recommendations and thus it had dumped the report. Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi replied that the recommendations of the committee were overarching covering the policies/programmes of various ministries. The government had sought views of concerned ministries and the Niti Aayog on the findings. After receiving views, appropriate decisions would be taken. It indicates that the report has not been dumped. However, after more than three years, there is no progress on it and the present government is not in mood to discuss its provisions.

#### MAHARASHTRA

##### MEHMOOD-UR-RAHMAN COMMITTEE (MRC)

After the SCR, former CM of Maharashtra, Late Vilasrao Deshmukh proposed to constitute a study group in 2008, a year before the state went to polls in 2009. By a resolution no. Asans-2007/CR-185/07/35/D-1, dated 6 May 2008, the Government of Maharashtra constituted a study group to look into the educational, social and economic backwardness of Muslims in the state and to propose remedial measures. It was headed by Mahmood-ur-Rahman. Besides him, Abdul Shaban, Ranu Jain, Vibhuti Patel, Farida Lambay, Mohammad Tilawat Ali and Veena Poonacha were other members. After an extensive tour of the state, analysis of wide-range of data and talks with social groups and NGOs working among Muslims, it prepared a report and submitted on 21 October 2013.

*Major findings:* Muslim population in Maharashtra: 10.6 per

cent (2001 census); literacy rate: 78.1 (2001 census); graduates: 2.2 per cent (2009); women graduates: 1.4 per cent (2009); urban BPL population: 59.4 per cent; rural BPL population: 59.8 per cent; share in state services: 4.4 per cent (SCR, 2006); number of Muslim IAS in the state: nil; share in police: 4.4 per cent (2007); and *madrassa* going children: 2.3 per cent.

Major recommendations: (1) 8 per cent reservation in job, admission and housing sectors both private and public; (2) implementation of Cultural DIx and establishment of EOC; (3) expansion of OBC list to include extremely deprived strata among Muslim community; (4) inclusion of Dalit Muslims in the SC category; (5) vacation of unauthorized occupation of Waqf properties; (6) creation of separate waqf service; (7) data of minorities in all departments to be uploaded on websites; (8) anti-discrimination Act for Muslims on the lines of the Atrocity Act for SC/ST; (9) setting up a commission to inquire into the reasons behind high share of Muslims in state jails; (10) minorities Development Department be given the task of monitoring detention of Muslims in terror-related cases as well as during communal riots to avoid the feeling of being victimized; (11) compulsory presence of Muslims in job selection committees; (12) 33 per cent share to Muslim women in 8 per cent reservation given to Muslims; (13) proportional share of Muslim women in 33 per cent reservation for women in the local self-governance; (14) adequate representation of Muslims in local bodies (urban and rural); and (15) transfer of management of Ismail Yusuf College to the Anjuman-e-Islam.<sup>4</sup>

While receiving the report, then CM Prithvi Raj Chavan promised to consider the recommendations. The then Minority Development Minister Arif Naseem Khan said, 'The government will examine these recommendations. I strongly believe that these recommendations will bring a large section of Muslims into the mainstream and allow them to avail the developmental schemes in country.'<sup>5</sup> However, there was no specific commitment from the state that whether it would accept it fully or place it in the State Assembly along with an ATR. Muslim intellectuals questioned the timing of submission of the report after 5 long years. They termed it as an election gimmick. Questioning the intention, many said that the



government showed lollipops before every election and they had seen reports of many committees and commissions which recommendations had not been implemented. They speculated that the report would meet the same fate as the earlier committees and commissions had met. The majority of people praised the MCR for making strong and clear recommendations.

In June 2014, the state government through an ordinance granted 5 per cent reservation for Muslims in jobs and admissions. Except this, the state did nothing to implement any of the provisions of the MRC. Several Muslim organizations and intellectuals in the state have come forward and demanded implementation of the major recommendations. The present BJP-Shiv Sena government in the state is not serious about it and its implementation. The MRC report is an ideal one as far as assessment of condition of Muslims in a state is concerned. In-depth analysis and major recommendations are strength of the report.

#### BHALCHANDRA MUNGEKAR COMMITTEE

In April 2011 Maharashtra Pradesh Congress Committee (MPCC) appointed a committee headed by Bhalchandra Mungekar to study the schemes for socially backward sections and submit a report along with corrective measures. The committee submitted its report on 27 May 2011 and made 60 recommendations for the welfare of minorities, Dalits and backward classes. Recommendations related to Muslims were: (1) increase of corpus fund of Maulana Azad Financial Corporation from 200 to 500 crore; (2) minorities be given jobs in government and non-government department under PM's 15-PP; (3) reservation for Unani doctors in government employment; (4) simplify procedure to get caste certificates; (5) making available 100 to 200 acres land for setting up a university like AMU; (6) PM's 15-PP should be implemented in Muslim-dominated areas; and (7) opening schools in Muslim-dominated areas.<sup>6</sup> Then MPCC president Manikrao Thakare had promised to get those recommendations implemented from his government. However, so far it has been noticed that the state government didn't make any effort to implement those measures.

## TISS REPORT ON MALEGAON

Malegaon is a Muslim-dominated town situated in Nashik district of Maharashtra. As per police record, this is a communally sensitive town. Seeing the abysmally bad living conditions and dearth of civic facilities, Maharashtra State Minorities Commission (MSMC) in 2010, commissioned a study and asked the TISS to study the socio-economic condition of people of Malegaon. The TISS submitted a report in 2012 and highlighted that due to absence of adequate health facilities and dearth of basic amenities, Malegaon had been transformed into a 'living hell'. Major findings: Total population: 4,71,006 (2001 Census); population below poverty line: 56.5 per cent; average household size: 7.2; people living in slums: 76 per cent; Average monthly income: less than Rs. 911; per capita income of 1/3rd population: less than Rs. 500; graduates: 4.57 per cent; and participation in government employment: 0.1 per cent.<sup>7</sup> It highlighted stark poverty and absence of civic facilities and suggested to implement recommendations of the SCR to improve the condition in the city.

Besides these reports, there are other important study reports on Muslims in Maharashtra. Study of Socio-economic and Educational Status of NT/DNT Muslims in Maharashtra was conducted by Razia Patel, head of Minority Cell, Indian Institute of Education, a semi-government organization in Pune. The study identified 24 notified and de-notified tribes (NT/DNT) in Maharashtra and prevalence of caste bias against them.<sup>8</sup> The report proposed various measures for socio-economic upliftment and mainstreaming of Muslim NT/DNTs. A Study of Socio-economic Conditions of Muslims in Maharashtra (2013) was commissioned by the MSMC and prepared by a team of research coordinators including Vibhuti Patel, Veena Devasthali, Ruby Ojha and Sanjay Phad. Based on the case studies conducted in Andheri (W), Parbhani and Washim, the report profiles socio-economic status of Muslims and suggests remedial measures. A study on 'Analysis of Budget of Maharashtra State Pertaining to Minorities (FY: 2013-14) & Forward Path' has been prepared by Ahtesaab Foundation, based in Mumbai. It presents critical analysis of budget allocation, its utilization and makes 7 demands including need based minority schemes, more fund

allocation, proper utilization, etc., of minority funds. Lastly 'A Study of the Socio-economic Profile and Rehabilitation Needs of Muslim Community in Prisons in Maharashtra' (2011) was commissioned by the MSMC and prepared by the TISS. A 141-page report presents in-depth analysis of socio-economic and educational profile of Muslim prisoners. It has presented major findings and recommendations. It is an important guide for policy-makers, activists and forward looking citizens of India.

### WEST BENGAL

CENTRE FOR STUDIES IN SOCIAL SCIENCES,  
CALCUTTA (CSSSC) REPORT

The CSSSC, an autonomous body funded by the central and WB government, published a report about baseline household survey on condition of Muslims in 12 MCDs. The survey was conducted in 2008 and report published in 2011. It was conducted with respect to basic amenities, education, health, infrastructure, occupational conditions, existence and efficacy of government schemes in all MCDs. Major findings: (1) Muslims educational condition is poor; (2) higher drop-out rate among Muslims compared to non-Muslims; (3) poor infrastructure facilities in Muslim areas; (4) Muslims are occupants of most of the *kuchcha* houses; (5) negligible number of Muslim beneficiaries in IAY; (6) more number of Muslims are having vocational training in tailoring; (7) muslims need more technical schools; (8) comparatively more Muslim women are engaged in household work; (9) less participation in professional work; (10) public hospitals are not located in close proximity of Muslim areas; (11) birth rate higher among Muslims; and (12) Muslims not aware about government schemes like SGSY, IAY, NREGS, Swajaldhara, etc. As per the report conditions were particularly poor in Murshidabad.<sup>9</sup>

### LIVING REALITY OF MUSLIMS IN WEST BENGAL

To assess the socio-economic, educational and infrastructure condition of Muslims in WB, a study was jointly done by an NGO

Social Network for Assistance to People (SNAP) and Guidance Guild. A valuable guidance and support from Amartya Sen's 'Pratichi Trust' was also taken. The survey began in October 2011 and was carried out in 325 villages and 75 urban wards from a sample of 81 community development blocks and 30 municipal bodies. It focused 6 important indicators – demography, health, gender discrimination, literacy and education and amenities, citizenship status and cultural practices. A preliminary survey reported titled *Public Report on the Status of Muslims in West Bengal* was released on 31 May 2014. The 77-page report pointed out that there was no marked change in the conditions of Muslims in the state even after 7 years of the SCR. Although the TMC government has tried to improve the situation, the reports suggest little change. Summary of the report can be found on: [http://two\\_circles.net/2014\\_june01/seven\\_years\\_after\\_sachar\\_report\\_no\\_change\\_condition\\_muslims\\_wb\\_new\\_study.html](http://two_circles.net/2014_june01/seven_years_after_sachar_report_no_change_condition_muslims_wb_new_study.html).

The final report titled *Living Reality of Muslims in West Bengal* was released in February 2016. While releasing the report, Amartya Sen said that Muslims constituted a much larger proportion of the poor and deprived in WB. It also shows that they lag behind on almost all important markers that show social progress. About 80 per cent of Muslim households in rural areas have a monthly income Rs. 5,000 or less, which is close to the poverty line for a family of 5. 38.3 per cent Muslim households in rural areas earn Rs. 2,500 or less per month, which is one half of the poverty-line. More worrying revelation is that only 3.8 per cent households earn Rs. 5,000 or above per month. Other findings: (1) Muslims' educational condition is poor: Literacy rate is 68.3 per cent (Census 2011), 4 pp lower than the average literacy and only 2.7 per cent hold a graduate or above degree; (2) Poverty is the main reason for poor education; (3) Poor educational infrastructure in Muslim-dominated areas; (4) Low WPRs in rural areas; (5) Poor infrastructure facility indicating class exclusion; (6) 13.2 per cent adult Muslims do not hold voter identity cards; and (7) Only 41 per cent Muslims have their houses on their own land.

It indicates that Muslims in WB are disproportionately poor and more deprived in terms of living conditions.<sup>10</sup> It has presented the true picture of Muslims' condition in the state and in intellec-

tual circles it is being termed as report card of Mamata government's work on Muslims. Because of the report, the present government was agitated and there was an effort to question the veracity of the report. Sultan Ahmad, an MP, says, 'Condition of 3 crore of Muslims cannot be judged on the basis of interview of 10,000 people'. He says reality is that the present government has done many things for Muslims socio-economic development and there are lot to be done to mainstream the community.<sup>11</sup>

### BIHAR

There is no official attempt to investigate the socio-economic condition of Muslims in Bihar. About eleven years ago, Bihar State Minorities Commission sponsored a survey that was conducted by Asian Development Research Institute (ADRI) which showed that Muslims were the poorest community in the state. About 49.5 per cent Muslims in rural areas and 44.8 in urban areas were under BPL. 19.9 per cent among Muslim families were acutely poor and 28.04 in rural areas were landless labourers.

New Delhi-based CRDDP has conducted a survey in Bihar. According to it the conditions of Muslims in the state is better than that of Dalit Hindus, but worse than UCH and OBCs. Muslims constitute 16.5 per cent of the state population as per the 2011 Census. Remittances sent from abroad and overall development taking place there have contributed to the socio-economic progress of Muslims. It suggests that there is need to do more for the development of Muslims.<sup>12</sup>

### KERALA

In 2008, then Left Government had set up a high power committee to study the SCR with respect to the socio-economic condition of Muslims in Kerala and to suggest state-specific recommendations. It was headed by then local administration minister, Paloli Mohammed Kutty and had members from all political parties, Muslim organizations and religious scholars. The committee came up with 15 recommendations which were approved by the State cabinet in

May 2008. Major recommendations: (1) setting up of an independent minority welfare department; (2) a full-fledged Muslim Welfare Commission; (3) job quota in private sectors; (4) more schools and colleges for Muslims; (5) scholarship and hostel for Muslim students; and (6) classify government employees on the basis of source of recruitment, merit or reservation, so that Muslim candidates could get full benefit of reservation.<sup>13</sup>

### TELANGANA

The Government of Telangana has issued order no. G.O.Ms No. 5, Minorities Welfare Department, dated 5 March 2015 to constitute a Commission of Inquiry (COI), consisting of 4 members to study the socio-economic and educational condition of Muslims to enable the government to formulate policies for the amelioration and upliftment of Muslims to bring them on par with other sections of society. The COI adopted some unique methods to collect the required information: (1) meeting with the central government/state government departments/agencies; (2) inviting suggestions from the public; (3) creation of the COI's website: <http://coi4muslims.telangana.gov.in> and social media account, i.e. facebook and twitter to submit suggestions/views; (4) letters addressed to MLAs/MPs to submit their views; (5) tour of all district headquarters to collect first-hand information; (6) many study/background papers were commissioned to renowned institutions; (7) sample survey to gather primary data by interviewing Muslim and other households; and (8) forming an Advisory Board of intellectuals/academicians to give their suggestions.

The COI submitted its report to the Telangana government in August 2016 which made the report public in December 2016.

### KEY FINDINGS OF THE COMMISSION

- Muslims constitute 12.7 per cent (44.64 lakh) of the state population and over half of them are concentrated in two districts, Hyderabad and Ranga Reddy.
- Educational indicators of Muslims and STs are comparable.

- Muslims face acute poverty, live in slums and have poor access to health facilities.
- Muslims face huge discrimination in housing market.
- WPR of urban male is the lowest among Muslims.
- 40.6 per cent of Muslim households have no savings.
- Only 19.2 per cent have salaried jobs.
- Total exclusion from banks and heavy dependence on money-lenders.

#### KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The state to appoint an EOC in all sectors.
2. The state to implement the 'Diversity Index' as suggested by the SCR (2006) and Kundu Committee (2014).
3. Muslim Dalits to be included in the SC list.
4. Immediately fill the post of Urud teachers.
5. Recognise *madrasa* as schools by inducting them into the mainstream school system.
6. Based on social and educational deprivation, recommended 12 per cent reservation in jobs and admissions.<sup>14</sup>

#### UTTAR PRADESH

After communal riots of Muzaffarnagar in 2013, the UP government under Akhilesh Yadav was under fire from Muslim intellectuals, leaders and organizations. To win votes and pacify Muslim sentiments, the state government announced, in January 2014, many schemes including a survey to assess the living standards and necessities of Muslims. Announced by the Minority Welfare Department, the survey would cover 144-minority dominated blocks. It was also proposed that the survey would assess educational environment for minorities and more schools would be given in the areas to improve the condition. Further development about the survey is not known as the regime has changed.

There has been no serious and noticeable effort in constituting committees to assess Muslims' condition in other states of India.

## INDEPENDENT REPORTS

### EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT AMONG MUSLIMS IN INDIA

This report was jointly prepared by IIM, Ahmedabad and ORF under the guidance of Rakesh Basant. Published in November 2012, the study was conducted by asking questions from Hindu, Muslim and Christian individuals on five indicators – social prestige, economics, education, employment and politics.

*Major Findings:* Hindu respondents reported highest sense of being treated fairly while Muslims perceived the lowest; the perception of being treated unfairly results in growing sense of insecurity taking root in the psyche of the community; Muslims carry the double burden of being labelled as ‘anti-nationals’ and being ‘appeased’ by vested interests which is the main reason of community ‘being treated unfairly’; school drop-out rates are the highest among Muslims; credit flows are virtually non-existent in Muslim concentration areas that curtails the ability of the community to improve their economic status; and biased implementation of government programmes and low presence of infrastructure in Muslim areas compounds the problem of unemployment.

*Major Recommendations:* (1) Political representation to be enhanced; (2) De-limitation of constituencies on urgent basis to de-reserve Muslim dominated areas; (3) Acceptable and ‘transparent’ incentive-based DIx in different spaces including economics, education, employment and politics; (4) Incentive for educational institutions and corporate houses which maintain more diverse workforce or students; (5) Educational qualification of the parents and not the caste, should be the basis for affirmative action.<sup>15</sup>

### BROKEN PROMISES

It was an extensive study on the socio-economic condition of Muslims after 7 years of the SCR. The study, published by the Centre for Peace Studies, was conducted by interviewing 8,082 Muslim



respondents and 420 control respondents from other SRCs spread over 42 districts of 15 states. It intended to understand the issue of: (1) The reach, among Muslims, of the different schemes meant for minorities; (2) The reach of general development schemes among the minorities; (3) The extent and perception of discrimination in access; and (4) Issue of identity and citizenship. It was published in July 2014 at the hands of A.B. Bardhan and Ali Anwar Ansari.

*Major Findings:* As far as the socio-economic condition of Muslims was concerned, the status quo continued even after 7 years of SCR. The SCR had suggested some elaborate and far-reaching steps to be taken by the government to improve acute backwardness and poverty, but, till this study, the recommendations seem to have remained on paper only. Muslims were found to lag behind on all socio-economic indicators. Socio-economic and educational backwardness coupled with a sense of alienation and discrimination that continue to plague the community. During discussions, people revealed that they were neglected by the political parties and the government. It is a shocking truth that although the Muslim community is not culturally, socially and linguistically monolithic, yet it has a uniform collective experience of neglect, lack of concern, alienation and discrimination. Muslims live across the whole country, speak all the languages, are divided into different castes and biradaries and yet somewhere they seem to have been singled out, making them unequal citizens. They seem to have been singled out for non-inclusion and non-participation in all the entitlements and development programmes; and neither the SCR nor PM's 15 PP made difference in their socio-economic conditions.

*Major Suggestions:* (1) Suitable allocation of funds proportionate to population of Muslims and proper implementation by ensuring their participation; (2) the mindset of the elected representatives need to undergo a change to recognize the continued exclusion of Muslims; (3) all recommendations of the SCR should be implemented seriously in a time bound manner; (4) strengthen the MMA by adequate human resources, infrastructure and financial allocations; and (5) setting up of Minorities Welfare Department in every state with clear mandate and guidelines.

## POST-SACHAR MINORITY SURVEY

To prepare a post-Sachar assessment of socio-economic and infrastructure condition of minorities, Abu Saleh Shariff has started gathering data from across the country. Besides education and health, his survey would focus on infrastructure, basic amenities, reach of banks to minorities, minority schemes and effectiveness of MSDP. It is also going to use data sourced from NGOs and social organizations. In the first phase, it will focus on 10 states with sizeable Muslim population and it is hoped that a comprehensive report on first 10 states would be published by 2018.<sup>16</sup>

## CONCLUSION

A study report on socio-economic status of an SRC is a report of social, economic and educational condition of that SRC. It indicates the progress or decline and possible reasons for that. It is also the mirror of government actions in the form of schemes or programmes or incentives. Recommendations made in the report indicate that the government should change its plan and policies in order to improve socio-economic status. In other words, reports guide the governments in policy formulation. Although there were some reports on the socio-economic status of Muslims before independence, there had been no authentic or official attempt to bring such reports till the Gopal Singh Panel was constituted. This is attributed to partition effect, discriminatory attitude of people in power and a deliberate attempt to keep the Muslims backward.

After the SCR and RMCR, there is a noticeable change in the attitude of the governments and academicians. Centre as well as many states are now trying to pacify the community by constituting committees to investigate socio-economic status. Suddenly, Muslims have become the subject of discussion, workshop, paper presentations, debates, etc. In some states, there is genuine attempt to do something concrete to remove backwardness of Muslims on the basis of recommendations. While in other states the committees are constituted, reports get prepared and Muslims are asked to be

happy with this only. In the second case, recommendations are not implemented and the report is put in the deep freeze.

Reports are many but findings are the same. Be it a central report, state report or private report, they tell the same story that socio-economic and educational conditions of Muslim are worse and governments need to take concrete steps to improve it. The MRC report is an ideal report and other states can think of bringing similar reports. The COI by Telangana is also a praiseworthy step which can be emulated. Genuine concern in constituting the committee in states is the pre-condition to bring the Muslim community on the path of development.

## NOTES

1. <http://twocircles.net/2014oct10/1412908923.html>
2. *The Indian Express*, Pune, 22 November 2014.
3. Ibid., 16 February 2015.
4. The Mahmood-ur-Rahman Committee Report, 2013.
5. *The Indian Express*, Pune, 22 October 2013.
6. *Inquilab*, Mumbai, 31 May 2011.
7. *The Indian Express*, Pune, 24 March 2012.
8. Ibid., 4 January 2014.
9. [http://twocircles.net/2011dec01/new\\_govt\\_report\\_reveals\\_more\\_startling\\_facts\\_about\\_muslims\\_west\\_bengal.html](http://twocircles.net/2011dec01/new_govt_report_reveals_more_startling_facts_about_muslims_west_bengal.html)
10. <http://twocircles.net/2016feb15/1455528272.html>
11. *Inquilab*, Mumbai, 16 February 2016.
12. [http://twocircles.net/2014jan12/muslims\\_bihar\\_better\\_dalits\\_finds\\_survey.html](http://twocircles.net/2014jan12/muslims_bihar_better_dalits_finds_survey.html)

## Conclusion

*Hadd hai Pasti Ki Ke Pasti Ko Bulandi Jana  
Ab Bhi Ahsas Ho Iska To Ubharna Hai Yehi!*

[The height of degradation is to think degradation as exaltation,  
But if one is even aware of this, it is a sign of a possible re-awakening]

MAULANA MOHAMMAD ALI JAUHAR (1878-1931)

### WHAT DO MUSLIMS THINK TODAY?

Based on the discussions in this volume, we conclude that although some minor initiatives have been taken as per the recommendations of the SCR, none of the provisions of the RMCR have been discussed, leave alone their implementation. The PSEC says, 'Although a start has been made, yet serious bottlenecks remain'.<sup>1</sup> Current statistics and report on Muslims' condition indicate that although condition of Muslims has registered a slight little improvement, their socio-economic indicators are not satisfactory.

Problems faced by Muslims are more or less not changed. M. Hamid Ansari, former Vice-President of India says that the problems confronting Muslim community relate to: identity and security; education and empowerment; equitable share in the largesse of the State; and fair share in the decision making.<sup>2</sup>

Notwithstanding, in the post-Sachar period, there is a sharp change in the psyche and attitude of the community as it has changed for the better. Earlier the community had been focusing too much on emotional issues, personal laws, religious matters, Babri Masjid and identity issues. It has moved ahead and now its discourse is focusing on education, economics, social progress, employment, industrial development and political participation. Today Muslims

want fair share in education and good schools and colleges in Muslim areas. Uneducated Muslim parents also want to give modern education to their children. Muslim youths want education and have high ambition and believe in scientific way of thinking, empowerment, entrepreneurship, economic progress and personal freedom. There is a greater trend towards business, influenced by the fact that it is difficult for them to get government or private jobs. They have become politically more mature and want fair share in politics. Although perception of discrimination is high, a new language of affirmative action has emerged in the community which wants social justice in accordance with the Constitutional provisions. Shifting from emotional issues to issues related to socio-economic and educational development is indication of a possible transformation.

#### PRESENT STATE OF IMPLEMENTATION

When the SCR came in public domain, it created an illusion in Muslims that there would be all-round development in social, economic and educational fields. On the contrary, the quantitative as well as qualitative analysis presented in this book tells a very sad story about the state of implementation. In May 2016, Justice Sachar said that the implementation of the SCR by the centre and states remained unsatisfactory. He said, 'I do not have data on implementation and impact but I am not satisfied with all the consecutive government, be it at Centre or in the States'.<sup>3</sup> The centre and states have not done much for honest implementation of these reports. Concrete steps have not been taken in this direction. Only scholarship schemes have been started and some area development works undertaken in MCDs. A PSC on SJE says, 'All the recommendations of the Sachar Committee are not being implemented seriously except for certain schemes like the scholarship and the scheme of grant-in-aid through MAEF'.<sup>4</sup> The UPA government started some lucrative schemes, but later they all lost their charm, because of half-hearted efforts. Some more observations are: due to casual approach very little budget of MSDP has been utilized; vital recommendations of the JPC and SCR have not been included in the Waqf Act, 2013; no effort is seen to de-reserve Muslim domi-

nated constituencies; no concrete steps to give SC status to Dalit Muslims; and mainstreaming measures like EOC, DIx, etc., have not been initiated.

The government created hype but no sincere work has been done. In fact there has been more publicity than work. Experts point out that due to fear of losing majority vote bank, the Congress half-heartedly implemented some minor recommendations. Harsh Mander says, 'Political managers of the ruling combine caution against providing grist to the opposition's charges of minority appeasement'. The recommendations of the RMC also created hope in the community for reservation. So far the government has shied away from its implementation. The present government is totally indifferent to their implementation. Vital recommendations have not been touched so far.

#### PRESENT CONDITION OF MUSLIMS

Quantitative analysis indicates that currently Muslims are at the top of the list of the oppressed in India. According to statistics presented in the Rajya Sabha in March 2016, about 60.64 lakh children were out of schools in India of which 25.7 per cent were Muslim. 75 per cent of the children out of schools were SC, ST and Muslims.<sup>5</sup> As per Census 2011, WPR in Muslims is 33 per cent. WPR is 36 per cent in Jains, 36 in Sikhs, 43 in Buddhists and 41 in Hindus while the national average is at 40 per cent. Thus Muslims have the lowest share of employed people among all religions. The condition of Muslims in other socio-economic fields is no better. Experts say that this is due to sustained neglect by the state. M. Hamid Ansari said that Muslims in India faced deprivation, exclusion and discrimination. A study on discrimination in urban housing rental preferences shows high level of exclusion of Dalits and Muslims in five metropolitan areas of NCR Delhi.<sup>6</sup> It is indicative of the discrimination faced by Muslims in taking houses on rent and purchasing a flat in mixed localities.

The rate of progress of Muslims was below the national average in the past decade, according to government data and other field surveys. Dr. Abusaleh Shariff says, 'Looking at the outcome indi-

cators such as education, literacy, work participation rates, food security and immunization rates, Muslims fall below India's national average line'. Improvement in conditions has been much lower than the national average and in some areas it has been the lowest compared to all other SRCs. Amitabh Kundu says, 'Muslims fall at the bottom of the heap and face exclusion in urban housing and labour markets. Government must pay attention to the policy recommendations made by the experts'. Dr. Abusaleh Shariff says,

India is making progress and the whole world knows about its growth story. Muslims are part of India's growth story and they are benefiting from it. But, the rate of growth is the slowest for Muslims when compared to all other communities and this is a big question! If this slow rate of growth continues, inequality will increase and Muslims will be left behind and become the neo-Dalits of India in another 10 years.<sup>7</sup>

#### ATTITUDE OF CURRENT REGIME

Narendra Modi took oath of PM of India with the catching slogan of 'Sab Ka Saath, Sab Ka Vikas' (Support of all, Development of all). Replying to the debate on the President's address, Modi said he had seen generations engaged in the same trade, such as cycle repair work. He also said, 'How will we bring about a change. We need focused activity. (We) do not see it as appeasement. If any organ of the body is not healthy, the body is not hearty'.<sup>8</sup> With few positive signals like this, Muslims hoped that this regime would be different from the Gujarat model and they would get opportunities to improve their socio-economic condition. Whereas, due to provocative statements of BJP leaders, state of insecurity in the country and stand of the government on many issues, Muslims have lost hope of getting anything constructive from the current regime.

After becoming minister, Najma Heptulla stated that Muslims were too large in numbers to call themselves a minority. Thus, she questioned the very minority status of Muslims. She also said that it was not necessary to implement all recommendations of the Sachar Committee and rejected the idea of reservation to Muslims

terming it as an ill-conceived policy of the Congress government.<sup>9</sup> The MMA has questioned the very basis of the PSEC report saying that the Committee analyzed the condition of merely Muslims rather than all minorities and that too doing incomplete 'analysis' using outdated data.<sup>10</sup> The new government has ordered a survey to assess the socio-economic conditions of all minorities except Muslims. This is seen as an attempt to overshadow the findings of the SCR.<sup>11</sup> At least 43 deaths, 212 cases targeting Christians and 175 targeting Muslims and 234 cases of hate speeches were recorded during the first year of Modi regime. This has caused polarization of people across India and has further marginalized the minorities.<sup>12</sup> Anti-minority statements given by leaders of the BJP has created nervousness and fear in the minds of the minority communities especially Muslims which is affecting their socio-economic progress. Attack on Muslims by Hindutva elements in the name of cow protection and politics in the name of beef and meat ban has created immense fear among them. Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi's statement of 'beef eaters can go to Pakistan' supported the anti-minority sentiment.<sup>13</sup> Under Sangh pressure Najma Heptulla was forced not to adopt a village with high Muslim presence under the Pradhan Mantri Sansad Adarsha Gram Yojna.<sup>14</sup> Although AMU off-campus centres had been sanctioned by the GoI and the President, former HRD Minister Smriti Irani maintained that those centres had been established illegally and the ministry would not fund them.<sup>15</sup> AMU VC was humiliated by Smriti Irani over that issue. Sources said quoting the then HRD minister, 'Whatever the centre got, was illegally done by former UPA government. We are going to close down the AMU itself as it is non-productive in terms of education'.<sup>16</sup> The present regime has taken the stand in court that AMU is not a minority institution and is preparing, slowly and slowly, to close down schemes meant for minorities.<sup>17</sup> Maulana Azad Medical Aid Scheme has already been closed<sup>18</sup>; budget allocation for scholarship schemes and MSDP has been cut significantly and many minority schemes are victims of the indifferent attitude.

The MMA was established over the opposition of the BJP and that mentality is still continuing. The government is continuing the ministry under some compulsion. Many BJP ruled states have



either banned the sale of beef or are preparing to do so. They have taken anti-reservation stand for Muslims. Experts say the government policy is not only limited to beef ban, reservation or stand against minority schemes, but this government is not at all serious about any problems of minorities and is pursuing a specific agenda. Observing all this, Kashif-ul-Huda, who runs the TCN online news portal, says, 'While the previous government cared for Muslims on paper, the new regime wants even those papers filed away in government archive never to be discovered'.<sup>19</sup>

### SAGA OF DENIAL AND DEPRIVATION

It is unfortunate that even after several decades of independence, sections of minority communities continue to suffer from poverty, as benefits of government schemes do not reach them.<sup>20</sup>

Former President Pranab Mukherjee, while addressing a joint session of Parliament on 9 June 2014

Such statements have been repeated years after year while Muslims have been pushed to the margins of the Indian society. The pathetic condition of Muslims is not the outcome of one year or one decade or one government, but of marginalization and systematic denial of their genuine rights starting from Independence.

The Committee on Fundamental Rights and Minorities under Sardar Patel, in its report of 8 August 1947, had clearly recommended reservation of seats in State Legislatures on the basis of population. Those clauses were duly written in the draft constitution in part XIV as Articles 292 and 294. However, that was deleted from the draft in 1949 by questionable means. Muslims' marginalization started since that point of time. In 1950, the controversial order of the President granted SC status to Dalits of Hindu community only. This order has been amended twice for giving SC status to Sikh and neo-Buddhists. However, Dalits of Muslim and Christian communities have been deprived of this status even today. The government, under the RTI, is unwilling to share the details of what all transpired in its files behind passing the President (SC) Order, 1950. Most of the Muslim-dominated

areas, although have insignificant proportion of SCs, are reserved for SCs. The government has refused to heed the call of the Sachar Committee and repeated follow up by the community members and has not constituted the de-limitation commission to correct these mistakes. The government constitutes committees and commissions to get Muslim votes, but ignores its own report. The Gopal Panel Report (1983), the SCR (2006), the RMCR (2007) and numerous reports on socio-economic condition of Muslims have been ignored by the government and simply filed in the government archives. Minorities constitute about 20 per cent of the national population while budgetary allocation for MMA is just 0.2 per cent of the Union Budget while allocation for SCs and STs are much higher. Apathy and indifference is clearly visible when it comes to progress of Muslims. The SCR clearly says school education is the main hurdle for Muslims and once it is crossed, a Muslim is almost as likely as any other to complete his or her graduation. Muslim parents want to give their children modern secular education, but the governments are unnecessarily focusing on *madrassa* modernization.

Anti-Muslim prejudices are deeply ingrained as part of the national sentiment. Attitude of state, police and bureaucracy is hostile against Muslims. As far as communal riots are concerned, the Congress party, which remained in power in most of the states, has been mute witness to series of riots and pogroms against Muslims. The anti-Muslim communal violence has consumed 40,000 lives in Independent India at several places including Mumbai, Bhiwandi, Ahmedabad, Meerut, Aligarh, Moradabad, Godhra, Sitamarhi, Bhagalpur, Nellie, etc. Justice for victims of riots has not been pursued by the Congress whenever it has been the ruling formation. In UPA-II regime, the Communal Violence Bill was drafted but the Congress party did not make effort to get it passed due to fear of losing majority votes.

Muslims have suffered at the hands of police and intelligence agencies in the name of fighting terror. Large number of Muslim youths are arrested on fake, flimsy and trumped up charges of being associated with terrorist organizations or involvement in the acts of terror. Post blasts, they are arrested, tortured, their career

crushed, only for then to be released later for lack of any credible evidence whatsoever. Illegal arrests of Muslim youths has become a big problem today due to which there is a feeling of fear and terror in the community. Experts say that the vicious witch hunt against Muslim youths is more a fact of life in Congress-ruled states. Successive governments have failed to fix the responsibilities of the agencies and illegal arrest is still continuing which is badly affecting the socio-economic progress of Muslims.

During 70 years of Independence, rights of Muslims are blatantly violated or suppressed. All they have received during this period is a few bread crumbs thrown at them and they have been told to keep quiet. Leaders of all parties do lip service and always admit that these problems exist and need to be solved but either there is no action or their actions are superficial or half-hearted at the most. The Congress party has been taking the community for a ride for decades with empty rhetoric and symbolic gestures. Political parties organize iftar parties, offer *chadar* (shawl) at Ajmer Sharif Dargah, flag off the Hajj flight to Mecca, make a bearded man sit beside them on election stage although the man may not have any political knowledge and put up some Muslim show pieces in ceremonial positions. The community has not got anything from these 'symbolic gestures' rather it has caused damage to the community by antagonizing the majority community. It is fed up of 'shallow tokenism'. Now the community has realized the well-planned and systematic marginalization by the power.

#### ABUNDANT TALENT

Muslims, as original inhabitants of India, possess all qualities and talents similar to members of other SRCs. There is no dearth of talent in them and they are in no way inferior to other communities. If they are given the needed support, encouragement and opportunities, they can achieve desired success. Success stories of educational talent is already mentioned in Chapter 6 and so also competitive talent to crack competitive exams in Chapter 13. Some instances of extraordinary talent in them are presented here.

Maryam Siddiqui, a schoolgirl, topped a *Bhagavad Gita* knowledge test conducted by International Society for Krishna Conscious-

ness. During the course of preparation she had referred to around 100 books on *Gita*, its teachings and interpretations.<sup>21</sup> Mohammad Ali Bashir Sayyad, who belongs to a poor family and a student of Mumbai Municipal English Medium School, won the Kenken International Championship national round, said to be India's biggest puzzle competition. He defeated 35,000 students to win the national round to represent India at the international contest.<sup>22</sup> Mustafa Ahmad, son of an Islamic cleric and a class IX student from Jorhat in Assam, has developed an insect-free scientific seed storage system that placed his model in the top 16 school projects among more than 600 children across India. His project was selected as an extraordinary merit project.<sup>23</sup> Arsh Ali, 16 years old, whose father runs a tour and travels business in Lucknow, has possibly become the youngest archeologist in India. He has been part of the excavation team in search of the Indus Valley Civilization. He has also given lectures on ancient and modern history to PG students at Allahabad University.<sup>24</sup> Amir Qutub, a 25 year old entrepreneur from Aligarh who did his BE from AMU in 2015, has been appointed as General Manager of IT Industry Cluster in Geelong Australia. To pursue his MBA education, he went to Australia where he initially worked as a cleaner during the day and a newspaper boy at night to support his start-up venture.<sup>25</sup> Imran Khan, a mathematics teacher in a government school in Alwar in Rajasthan, has developed 52 education-oriented mobile applications since 2012. His mobile apps were downloaded by 30 lakh users till November 2015. PM Modi mentioned his name during speech at London's Wembley Stadium and said, 'In Rajasthan's Alwar there is a man called Imran Khan. He has developed 50 mobile apps and dedicated these apps to students for free. My India is in that Imran Khan (hand) from Alwar'.<sup>26</sup> Rahil Shaikh, a student of MBM from Dhule, Maharashtra has created six world records related to computer operation like creation of folders, e-mail accounts, etc., in the shortest number of letters which have been recognized by different countries of the world.<sup>27</sup> Jamal Ahmad who belongs to a poor family in Siwan district of Bihar, left his home at the age of 8 and went to Aligarh in search of a job. Initially he worked as a domestic help and in 1998 took the job of a cleaner in a computer centre. Soon he acquired deep knowledge of

computers and started a computer company. He has taken the responsibility for developing 101 smart classes in AMU. At 37, he appeared for the matriculation examination.<sup>28</sup> Nawaj Shaikh, a technical staff at National AIDS Research Institute was felicitated by the minister of HRD for winning the logo competition for the New Education Policy. Shaikh, son of a daily wage labourer from Solapur, has done Masters in microbiology from Pune University. His design was adjudged the best among 3,000 entries. Jahanara Khatun, a 41-year old handicapped woman who has lost hearing ability, cleared the WBCS Examination in 2013 in group 'C' with a rank of 31.<sup>29</sup> Shaikh Rafique, posted as a police constable in Aurangabad city of Maharashtra, conquered Mount Everest in 2016. The CM of Maharashtra, Devendra Fadnavis, congratulated him and promised to bear all expenses of expedition and promotion of Rafique.<sup>30</sup> Shamar Farooqui, a youth from Mumbai, has successfully taken 8 dives, 6 times from 12,000 feet and twice from 15,000 feet. He has successfully taken training in Queens Resort College in New Zealand for adventure management. He is now motivating and giving training to Mumbai youths in the field of adventure.<sup>31</sup> Nazia, a 15-year old girl of Agra was honoured with Rani Laxmibai bravery award at the hands of Akhilesh Yadav for her exemplary courage. On 7 August 2105, she saved Dimpny, a 6-year old Hindu girl from the clutches of two criminals who were trying to kidnap the girl. Nazia's exemplary courage had been admired throughout the state and country.<sup>32</sup>

#### GOVERNMENTS NEED TO CHANGE THEIR ATTITUDE

If the governments at the centre and in states are really interested in the development of Muslims, they need to change their attitude vis-à-vis Muslims' development. Some of the needed basic shift in government policies are discussed here.

#### INCLUSIVE GROWTH

It is a notion that enables unbiased opportunities for economic participants during economic growth with benefits incurred by

every section of society (Ranieri, 2013). In crude terms it provides equal opportunities for people of all regions and religions.

It reduces poverty, improves health care facilities, improves access to school and higher education, provides opportunities for employment and improves access to basic civic amenities. Sustainable economic growth requires inclusive growth. In today's context, Muslims want inclusive growth. If the government is really serious about Muslims' growth, it should adopt the policy of inclusive growth and in that situation it does not need to formulate specific policies/schemes for Muslims. They are also required to be vigilant and participate in national growth. If they are made part of it and made equal partners in country's all round development, only then India can become a super power in real terms.

#### MUSLIM PROBLEMS AS NATIONAL PROBLEM

Expressing concern before the Sachar Committee, Muslim delegations had said that if the government really wanted to solve the problems of Muslims, it would show a sense of commitment and a change in mindset. They said that problems of Muslims should be looked upon not as problems of a minority, but as a national problem. Muslims are the largest minority or the second largest majority community in India and constitute 14.2 per cent of the national population. Muslims face high level of socio-economic and educational deprivation. The level of employment is very low and poverty very high. Taking into account the high share of Muslim population and extreme backwardness among them, it would be appropriate for the government to treat their problems as national problems. Akhtarul Wasey says, 'Muslims are an integral part of India and the government needs to understand that whatever is in the interest of India is in the interest of Muslims too'.<sup>33</sup>

#### POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

The SCR clearly noted that the poor socio-economic condition of Muslims was also the result of low political representation. Muslims participation is poor at all levels and nowhere in the state

assemblies, they are adequately represented. States with significant share of Muslim population like Assam, WB, UP, Bihar, Kerala, Maharashtra, etc., also do not have satisfactory representation. The problem of acute political marginalization of Muslims have been raised on many forums but no concrete policies are formulated to correct it. If the situation is analysed minutely, we come to the conclusion that there are basic defects and flaws in our current democratic and electoral system which limits the reach of our democracy. The existing electoral system, i.e. first-past-the-post (FPTP) is heavily against the interest of minorities and downtrodden and supports the tyranny of majority over the minorities. Under the prevailing system, a candidate is easily elected by securing 20 to 25 per cent votes and hence the government thus formed is not fully representative. A communalized social space does not allow a Muslim to get elected under FPTP. As per the population of Muslims, there should be 77 MPs while the present LS has only 24 Muslim MPs pointing towards huge political deprivation. To empower Muslims and other minorities politically, the government may adopt any of these methods: (1) reservation of seats for minorities in the Parliament, State Assemblies and local bodies according to their population; (2) Proportional Representation (PR) system for all religious minorities; and (3) some other methods.

For the time being the government may appoint fresh De-limitation Commission to de-reserve SC-reserved constituencies with high Muslim population. This has already been highlighted in the SCR and pursued by the community leaders.

#### COMMUNITY INITIATIVE

After analysing the extent of implementation of the SCR, it is said that the government is unable to take all responsibilities and thus Muslim community is required to take some initiatives on its own. The community should take steps to ensure that the recommendations of the two reports are followed upon. Muslims have to seek control of their own destiny. Some initiatives need to be taken for educational and social development and the community has to stand on its own feet. It has enough resources for self-support and

the only challenge is to channelize those untapped resources. Community is full of talent, only thing it needs proper guidance, some motivation and little support. NGOs and Muslim organizations can extend help to the government in implementation of the SCR especially pertaining to education. The SCR has also suggested that its recommendations would be more efficacious if there is community participation. Community initiatives are already mentioned in Chapters 6 and 13. Some more are presented here.

Anjuman Ittehad Tambolian Jamaat in Pune has been organizing community marriages since 1972. It provides scholarships to students and aims to construct community halls, a hospital, international school, hostel and a pathology lab. The social service club of the JMI in collaboration with the NGO Parvaah has started a drive to educate the children of construction workers engaged in campus development. The club aims to provide help in educating the children and get them enrolled in nearby recognized schools. The Sahayata Trust under patronage of US-based NRI Manzoor Ghauri, has been organizing the Zakaat distribution since 1997. In 2014, it distributed Rs. 2.3 crore of aid to the poor. It primarily focuses on education, healthcare, community and social service and emergency relief with its social ventures and grants. It has also provided help to the victims of Bhagalpur, Gujarat, Assam and Muzaffarnagar riots and Uttarakhand floods.<sup>34</sup> Indian Muslim Relief & Charities (IMRC- <http://www.imrcusa.org>) a US-based non-profit organization runs several programmes in India in partnership with over 100 organizations. Besides running schools and colleges, it provides relief to the affected victims of communal riots and natural calamities. In 2015, it launched three Indo-US pilot schools in backward neighbourhoods of Hyderabad with the goal to complete 100 schools in the next five years.<sup>35</sup> Jahangirabad Educational Trust Group of Institutions (JETGI) has established an engineering college at Jahangirabad near Barabanki. It aims to start teacher training course, BBA, M. Tech., Diploma Engineering and full time bachelors and masters in media.<sup>36</sup> Support for Educational and Economic Development (SEED) has launched vocational training institute 'National Institute of Technical Training (NITT)' which aims to provide vocational training leading to



employment opportunities for unemployed and under-educated poor youths. NITT provides incentives to students and gives admission to non-matriculates also. Apart from technical education, it also prepares the students for matriculation examination.<sup>37</sup>

### INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVES

The community has ample number of members who can devote themselves for taking care of the ailing community. Very few of us have selflessly utilized individual time and resources to physically help the community in different possible ways. In fact whatever we learn and earn, we should pay back to the society. Competent individuals can help the community in the fields of education, health, awareness, micro-finance, etc.

On bigger scale, Azim Premji, Chairman of Wipro has donated 39 per cent of his company's shares (worth Rs. 53,284 crore) for philanthropic work, mainly funding primary education in India. Premji is the first Indian to sign up for the Giving Pledge, a campaign led by Warren Buffet and Bill Gates, to encourage the wealthiest people to make a commitment to give most of their wealth to philanthropic causes. After Richard Branson and David Sainsbury, he is the third non-American to join the club. In 2001, Premji founded the Azim Premji Foundation, a non-profit organization with aims to achieve quality universal education that would facilitate a just, equitable, humane and sustainable society. Maulana Badruddin Ajmal, an MP and founder of AIUDF, is active in the field of philanthropy, charity and development, mainly focusing on the downtrodden, weak and the poor. He has started charitable hospitals, orphanages and educational institutions including a women's college of science and technology. Ajmal CSR foundation has started work in the field of education in Murshidabad and Malda district of WB. Abdul Kader Fajlani, owner of an exporting company based in Mumbai is taking a lot of interest in the development of Muslim community through education, health care, orphanage, employment generation and coaching students for fruitful employment. He has taken over more than 50 schools of BMC located in Muslim-populated areas and upgraded them with

infrastructure, computer and quality teachers to provide quality education to children of poor background. Asaduddin Owaisi has initiated a lot of work in areas of education and health care. The Owaisi group of schools from KG to higher classes at Hyderabad, Deccan Medical College and Deccan Engineering College have been started. The Owaisi group of hospitals have also started. The Owaisi group of institutions and health care have been planned in Maharashtra at Malegaon, Bhiwandi and Nanded.

Yunus Fazlani has started an English medium school, the Hanifa School, in Borsad, Gujarat that has been awarded the British Council International School Award for efforts in strengthening the international dimension in its school curriculum. Maulana Mjuaddidi has started Imam Rabbani Public School, an English medium school in Jaipur and has planned to start the same in Lucknow, Farrukhabad and other towns of UP. Yusuf Mukati from Aurangabad in Maharashtra has been serving the poor and needy by starting innovative schemes like *roti* bank, *kapda* bank, marriage bureau, free coaching classes, sewing classes for women, etc. Enamul Haque, a mason by profession has started a *madrasa* for girls and an English medium school in Malda district of WB. Samim Sarkar, a Commercial Tax officer, has started a coaching institute to prepare students of poor background for WBCS examination in Kolkata. Rahima Khatun, has established an NGO 'Nari-o-Shishu Kalyan Kendra' which focuses on empowerment of women in WB through education, literacy, awareness, self-help and elimination of poverty. Mirza Aejaaz Baig, a Zila Parishad High School teacher in Beed district of Maharashtra, has started a mission which focuses on poor students to complete their matriculation. Raham Ali, a farmer in Dhubri district of Assam, has decided to donate half *bigha* of land out of his total 3 *bigha*, to set up the first English medium school in the area. Ashid Zaman, a Deputy Commissioner with the Indian Revenue Service along with some of like-minded friends has decided to set up the said English medium school on the land donated by Raham Ali. Waseem Siddique, a software engineer in Aurangabad has a lot of passion for social work and has established 'Azad Yuva Brigade' to coordinate his different kinds of social activities. He has started an action committee to create awareness about AMU

off-campus centre in Aurangabad; a campaign to save Wakf properties and forced banks to open free bank accounts for minority students. Master Qasim, a teacher in an Inter-college, has done a lot in the field of education in Fatehpur village of Amroha district. So far he has established and successfully run a big college, an English medium Inter-college, a Polytechnic institute besides constructing a 100-bed hospital in his campus. Azizur Rahman, an engineering student in MIT Pune has got registered 'Jigyasa Education Trust' to provide education to poor, downtrodden, handicapped, orphan and slum students. Many engineering students are coming forward to join him in his noble work.

## MUSLIMS NEED TO SET SOME GOALS

### PURSUIT OF KNOWLEDGE

Pursuit of knowledge has been at the heart of the rise to power of all communities and societies. Emphasis on education at all ages is the only way for social and economic empowerment of a community. In short, education is the key to success of an individual, a community and a civilization. The Muslim world has produced a galaxy of brilliant stars in different fields like Abu al-Qasim al-Zahrawi, al-Kindi, Avicenna, Averroes, ibn-Khaldun, ibn-Arabi, etc. Low level of education is the main cause of socio-economic backwardness of the Muslim community in India. For educational development some of these strategies can be adopted: Parents can sacrifice their luxuries and comforts to provide their children modern and quality education; putting total emphasis on primary education, educated and wealthy persons can start pre-schools in Muslim-dominated areas and even *madrasa* and mosques can have quality pre-schools in their areas; in every city/town Muslims should start and run at least one English medium school in Muslim populated areas with nominal fees and some concession to poorer families; and Muslims of north India should establish educational institutions like their brothers in south India and in this respect Kerala, particularly the Malabar region, has emerged as an emulative model in terms of Muslim education as the region is now leading with five universities and more than 400 colleges.

## MAINSTREAMING

Muslims are integral part of Indian society. Due to historical reasons like divide and rule policy of the British, communalization of society, communal riots, partition and discrimination against Muslims, they are away from the mainstream. They are also responsible for this situation as they have been maintaining distance from mainstream education and putting too much emphasis on religious and identity issues. So far governments have also not attempted to do this. The SCR suggested many main-streaming measures, but those have not been touched by the government. Government measures are meant to make them a ghettoized community that looks inward in all matters. Some factors which can help the Muslims become part of the mainstream, are presented here.

1. Education is a means of silent revolution and the most important factor for mainstreaming of any caste or community. Prophet Muhammad (*pbuh*) had urged his followers 'to go in quest of knowledge even if you have to go as far as China'. This was for making the Muslims to excel in the fields of science and technology and to become part of the mainstream.
2. Government schemes mainly focus on providing assistance and setting up exclusive institutions for minorities or Muslims rather than opening up formal education network to include them. This is a dangerous plan to keep Muslims away from the mainstream. Higher educational institutions are the place where one mingles and grows with people from other communities. This gives opportunity to integrate with the rest of the society. Living in isolation will mould us in a particular mindset and there will be no open mindedness. Therefore, the government should establish educational institutions which have students from all religious communities to enhance mainstreaming.
3. Muslims should open schools of formal and mainstream education in their concentration areas. Fifty to 60 per cent seats should be earmarked for Muslims and rest will be reserved for students of other religions especially OBCs and SCs/STs.
4. Islam encourages a pluralistic society where people of different

- faiths, race, caste, culture and languages live together in an atmosphere of peaceful co-existence as established in the charter of Medina. So, Indian Muslims should maintain a cordial and harmonious relationship with their compatriots. It is our moral duty to bridge the gap between Hindus and Muslims in India.
5. Islam does not allow coercion in the matter of religion and thinking, nor does it allow disrespect to the religious leaders of other faiths. We should read and learn main teachings of other religions that will encourage us to maintain cordial relation with people of other religions.
  6. Muslims should read history, geography and culture of the district and state they live in. They should also learn the regional language of the state that would help them in getting state level government jobs. Besides, reading about struggle and resistance of other marginalized communities like Dalits, Tribals, etc., will enhance the process of mainstreaming.
  7. Extending helping hands to people of other religions in hour of need especially during calamities/distress is a noble work. After the Uttarakhand natural calamity and floods in 2013, the AIMMM has urged the Muslim organizations to help the victims. After this call, AMU, Jamia Urdu Aligarh, AIMIM, Khudai Khidmatgar and several Muslim organizations of Mumbai and other cities extended help to the victims that included relief materials, team of doctors, medicines, rations and generous donations to PM Relief Fund. During Chennai floods of December 2015, many Muslim organizations, especially Chennai Shia Youth Association, helped the flood victims with food materials and medical help. These steps and gestures have been appreciated everywhere. This should continue on bigger scale.
  8. Generous donation for the cause of educational development of deprived section of other SRCs will be welcome step.

The silverlining is that the community has realized its distance from the mainstream and it is now trying hard to be part of it. Sudheendra Kulkarni, a politician and columnist, says, 'The thoughts, concerns, and inspirations of the new generation of Muslims are pushing it away from the margins and into the mainstream of national life'.<sup>38</sup>

## INDIVIDUAL STRUGGLE

Struggle may be defined as the strenuous effort to achieve something against external odds. Nothing comes out without hard work and struggle especially when the resources are limited and competition is high. In present condition Muslims have to struggle hard to overcome discrimination and to get justice. Individual struggles are like success stories that motivate others to follow the path of hard work, to fight against odds and to fight until the target is achieved. Some unique struggles are presented here to show how some individuals fought to achieve justice and goals.

Shaheen Dhada, a young student, through a Facebook post, had questioned the spontaneous shutdown in some parts of Maharashtra at the funeral of late Bal Thackeray on 19 November 2011. Her friend Renu Srinivasan liked it. The action of these girls, which in no way disturbed peace and communal harmony, invited the wrath of Thane (Rural) police that acted swiftly and arrested the girls. They were in police detention for 10 days. In March 2015, the SCI struck down section 66A of the IT Act, 2000, and the credit for that goes to the fearless fight of Shaheen Dhada.<sup>39</sup> Roshan Jahan's legs had to be amputated after she fell off a local train in October 2008 while travelling from Andheri to Jogeshwari after writing her college exam papers at Anjuman-i-Islam Girl's College, Mumbai. She belonged to a poor family, lived in a 10×10 feet room, studied in Urdu medium and belonged to a conservative Muslim family, yet fighting against all odds and overcoming physical and language barrier, she cleared the MHCET, state's medical entrance exam with good rank. However, she was denied admission in MBBS due to her 88 per cent disability as against permissible up to 40 to 70 per cent. She moved the High Court which ordered the authorities to give her admission. She has now passed MBBS. When she had survived the accident and was facing depression, her mother used to motivate her by saying, 'Think over why Allah, the Almighty gifted you a "second life". It must be for something really very big'.<sup>40</sup> Samina Bano holds management degree from IIM, Bangalore along with a B. Tech. After working in some MNCs, she resigned and came to Lucknow to do social service. She is now a famous RTE activist in Lucknow. Due to her courageous works

on RTE, 1,300 students got admission under the economically weaker section in 2015-16. As an RTE activist, she has challenged many big schools that have not been implementing the provisions of the RTE.<sup>41</sup> Zeeshan Ali Khan, an MBA in international business, had applied to Hari Kirshna Exports Pvt. Ltd., a leading diamond export company, for a job. Shortly after application, he received a reply: 'Thanks for your application. We regret to inform you that we hire only non-Muslim candidates'. He was shocked with the reply and immediately shared the company's response on social media and the issue went viral that generated sharp reaction from justice loving people. When the news spread, the company realized its mistake and sent an e-mail to Zeeshan in which it regretted its mistake and offered him to join the company. He declined the offer of a company that discriminated people on the basis of religion. He got an FIR registered against the company for practicing 'religious discrimination'.<sup>42</sup> After that, he got job offers from many reputed companies. His fight has set an example as to how to fight religious discriminations.

### ISLAM AND MODERNITY

The scholar Ram Puniyani writes, 'Most of the founders of religions, the prophets, had questioning mind and they questioned the existing norms, values and practices. It is precisely for this that many of them were tormented and punished by the powers that ruled. . . . There are many incidents in the history, where those who came up with rational thought were not only killed but sometimes harassed to no end'.<sup>43</sup> When Prophet Muhammad (*pbuh*) revealed Islam to the world, he was harassed and tortured so much so that he had to migrate to Medina to save his life and life of his handful of followers. Islam as revealed by him was a blessing for mankind and a source of guidance for all times to come. He was harassed because the religion he revealed was the most modern, most progressive and most rational at that time. Modern and progressive in terms of solving social issues, giving the principle of social justice, theory of mutual co-existence, respect to all religious beliefs (secularism), acquiring modern education and humanitarian

aspect on dealing with people. He pronounced rational thoughts free of rituals and dogmas. Highly educated people and celebrities who have reverted to Islam say that Islam preaches peace and love and its ethics, tolerance and simplicity are attracting people towards it. However, religious clergy and so called religious leaders have filled the religion with rituals and dogmas and have also diverted it from its modern aspect. Today we need religious leaders who can explain Islam from a modern perspective and teach how to adjust with the fast changing and fast evolving world.

Islam tells us: 'Knowledge is the lost treasure of Muslims. Pick it up wherever you find it'. Also, 'Go to even China to acquire knowledge.' This injunction was not to acquire religious education in China but to gain knowledge of modern science and technology. Due to heavy emphasis on science and education, the Arab world was able to produce many renowned experts in physics, chemistry, medical science, philosophy etc. Dr. Mohammad Manzoor Alam writes, 'Muslims are accused of trying to fight technology with theology. We must come out of this situation sooner or later'.<sup>44</sup> We must succeed here to succeed in the hereafter.

Second, accepting the idea of difference of opinion and respecting it has been the integral part of main teachings of Islam. This is called *Adab-e-Ikhtalaf* (norms of expressing difference of opinion). Islam takes the position that difference of opinion among Muslims is a boon or God's blessings. Because of this, we are able to look at issues from different perspectives which help us understand all dimensions, making solution easier to find.<sup>45</sup> *Adab-e-Ikhtalaf* is a general term which includes tolerance of dissent, dealing with dissent peacefully, respecting opinion of others, democracy and peaceful transfer of power. If it had been prevalent and accepted in Muslim societies, there would have not been violence and bloodshed in Muslim countries. Even today by following it we can control bloodshed and mindless war in many Muslim countries.

Third, although Islam had been the most modern religion for many centuries, later, Muslims left the path of acquiring knowledge and embracing modernity. Now, modernity (*Jadeediyat*) is posing a serious challenge to Islam. M. Hamid Ansari advises Muslims to revisit its own tenets to retrieve the traditions of *ijtihad* and



*maslaha* in order to confidently negotiate modernity.<sup>46</sup> As Muhammad Abduh, the nineteenth century reformer put it, in Islam man was not created to be led by a bridle but given intelligence and reason so he could be guided by knowledge. Faith and reason can and must go together. If we do not embrace modernity, we will be left behind in the race of progress.

#### RE-ORIENTING COMMUNITY RESOURCES

Islam, a religion of social justice, teaches to spread goodness not just within the community but for the whole humanity. For this Islam prescribe *zakat*, *sadaqah* and other forms of philanthropic work. *Zakat*, one of the five pillars of Islam, is a mandatory charity for every well-to-do Muslim as a measure to remove economic inequality and bring social justice. As per teachings, every Muslim whose assets reached *anisab* or minimum value (current market price of 60.65 tolas of silver) has to pay 2.5 per cent *zakat* on his wealth. The Quran and *Hadees* tell us eight ways in which *zakat* can be used: (1) poor (destitute, beggars, etc.); (2) needy (who have needs but embarrassed to beg); (3) people employed to administer the Zakat fund; (4) people who have converted to Islam and are in financial difficulty; (5) enslaved people seeking freedom (could also mean Muslims put in prison illegally); (6) people in debt (to help to come out of debt); (7) muslims who are struggling in Allah's cause: and (8) Wayfarer (a traveller who is in need to complete his or her travel).<sup>47</sup> *Zakat* saves poor people from humiliation of begging and ill feeling against the rich. It is helpful in maintaining social peace and harmony.

According to estimate of Association of Muslim Professionals (AMP), Rs. 7,500 crore is collected and distributed annually in the form of *zakat* in India. As per another estimate this figure is around Rs. 10,000 crore. As per the study done by Mumbai-based Prof. Rahmatullah, it is Rs. 50,000 crore. Although experts disagree on the exact figure of *zakat* collection annually, yet all agree that if it is used effectively, it would bring socio-economic developments, sustainable poverty alleviation and community upliftment. However, the expected results are not achieved even though

Muslims do give *zakat* generously with good intention. It is generally seen that efforts are not taken to identify the actual needy and it is distributed casually at their doors. *Zakat* is usually distributed in bits and pieces which is not the correct way to bring about change. Instead, it must be used as a tool to transform a *zakat* taker into a *zakat*-giver. Experts suggest that we should prefer to utilize this to create means of livelihood for the needy such as putting up a mobile repair shop, buy or repair an old auto rickshaw, help students in their professional studies, rather than just giving the money for routine expenses. Third, mosques and *madrasas* do aggressive *zakat* collection. But proper record is not maintained and accounting is not done there. Rather than giving *zakat* money only to mosques and *madrasas*, we should give it to bring social and economic equality, for creation of mainstream schools for poor, for employment generation, to help people in distress, etc.

There are many trusts/NGOs and organizations which have been collecting *zakat* and distributing it as per Islamic principles. Hyderabad Zakat and Charitable Trust is trying to lift the community out of poverty and illiteracy. It has established English-medium schools, High Schools and given scholarships to thousands of students. Skill development and assistance for widow re-marriage are other initiatives. JUH supports the legal battles of several men arrested in terror cases across India. Based in Mumbai and headed by Gulzar Azmi, head of the Legal Aid Committee of Jamiat Ulama Maharashtra, in 2015 it spent over Rs. 2 crore on the legal defence of 410 Muslims embroiled in 52 terror-related cases. Members of the JUH have highlighted the need of *zakat* money for the legal defence of innocent Muslims arrested in terror-related cases.<sup>48</sup> Muslim Professional Network is a Hyderabad-based social platform of professionals working in different fields such as IT, finance, medicine, law, etc., to connect and collaborate for inclusive progress and development. It has launched [www.idohelp.org](http://www.idohelp.org), an online funding platform to connect those who want to give back and help the community with meaningful projects by verified NGOs, charities and social groups. In India, Muslims earn interests on their bank deposits but due to their reluctance, crores of rupees lapse as they don't want to withdraw interest earned. Muslim Service

Society, based in Kozhikode, Kerala has started to put that interest to use for public welfare activities. It has formed a public utility fund, where the interests on bank deposits are utilized for construction and maintenance of roads, bus stops, parks, wells, schools and hospital buildings.

### MOSQUES AND *IMAMS*

During the initial days of Islam, *masjid* was not merely a place of worship but it used to be a centre of all activities in the Muslim society. After reaching Medina, the Prophet (*pbuh*) took the first task to build a mosque which later came to be known as *Masjid-e-Nabvi*. It was located adjacent to the Prophet's house. Besides prayers and sermons, it was a centre of learning, discussion, justice and administration. The Prophet conducted all administration work from there. He welcomed and met the envoys from other places, and signed pacts and treaties. Rules were framed and learnt, war booty distributed and all welfare activities conducted. In a nutshell, the mosque was a centre of all social, political and administrative activities. However, mosques have been reduced to a place of prayer and religious sermons in present times. Rather, the Muslim community should develop them as centres of Muslim societies. There is no unanimity on religious issues. Instead of being unifying centres of Islamic society, *masjids* have been divided and operated by people of different sects and ideologies – mainly three – Tablighi, the Sunni/Barelvi and Ahle Hadees Jamaat. Besides learning religious and prayer related issues, these *masjids* could become unifying centres for socio-economic, educational and employment matters. It can be developed as a centre of education by attaching *maktabs*, schools, libraries, skill development training initiative and a general centre of training. It can also be developed as a centre where information related to scholarships, government schemes and employment can be stored, displayed and given to people who need them. It can become a centre of coaching for competitive exams.

Second, Imams are educated people who lead religious prayers and give away Juma sermons. The Prophet used to acquaint the

public about current affairs in his Friday sermons and concentrated on uprooting of prevalent social vices. In sharp contrast today, Friday sermons have become a ritualistic procedure, any effort to use the sermon in the reformation of society or to publicize government schemes is largely looked down as 'worldly' talks. We should appoint highly educated persons as Imams who can guide the community on socio-economic and educational issues and give information about government schemes. ZFI has started As'haabas-Suffa for training *imams* and *khateeb*s. The objective of the institute is to plan and enrich the Friday *khutba* and make it more user friendly for the sake of better upbringing of the community and also to discourse regarding contemporary welfare issues.

#### CHARTER OF DEMANDS

1. Problems and concerns of the community should be treated as national issues to be tackled accordingly.
2. Muslims need mainstream basic education. The government should open good quality schools from primary to matriculation in Muslim concentration areas.
3. MHRD should ensure conferment of 'Minority Status' on the AMU and ensure establishment and proper running of its remaining off campus centres in Maharashtra and MP.
4. MHRD should follow up and get resolved non-implementation of Central Urdu Teacher Scheme in states and it should ask the states to fill entire vacancy of Urdu teachers.
5. Special package to traditional business/industry of Muslims to meet the challenges of modernization and globalization.
6. The government should introduce interest-free banking in the light of the recommendations of the Raghuram Rajan Committee on Financial Reforms.
7. Budget sub-plan for minorities on lines of SC/ST be created.
8. NDB and AMA should be established and data on deprivation of Muslims along with other deprived communities should be updated regularly.
9. EOC should be established and system of incentives based on DIx should be created and made operational.

10. Indian Wakf Service for managing the affairs of vast Waqf properties should be created.
11. Vital recommendations of the Sachar Committee and JPC on Wakf should be incorporated in the Waqf Act, 2013.
12. PMO can oversee the vacation of Waqf properties occupied by the government departments in the centre and states and restore these to the SWBs.
13. The central government may start the proceedings to delete the Constitution (Scheduled Caste) Order, 1950 and make the definition of the Scheduled Caste religion-neutral.
14. Muslim OBCs are finding it difficult to compete with more advanced OBCs of other SRCs. The government should create a Most Backward sub-category within the OBC category and put Muslim OBCs in this category along with similarly placed caste groups from other religions.
15. Definition of ST is religion-neutral and Muslim community also has STs. However, many Muslim STs are in OBC category while their Hindu counterparts are in the ST list. The centre should appoint a committee to identify Muslim STs and include them in ST list.
16. Government sectors have been shrinking due to rapidly growing privatization. Therefore, the central government should present a Bill to introduce reservation in the private sector.
17. To ensure proper representation of Muslims in the Parliament and state Assemblies, the government should immediately appoint Delimitation Commission with specific mandate to de-reserve Muslim populated constituencies.
18. Illegal arrests of Muslim youths under terror charges is affecting the psyche of the community and derailing their socio-economic progress. The MHA should create a system of time-bound fast track courts to try terror related cases. Besides, it may provide compensation of Rs. 50 lakh to one crore to persons acquitted of terror charges.
19. Communal riots are national shame that disturb socio-economic and educational development of Muslims and increase ghettoization. The government should introduce and get passed the Communal Violence Bill.

20. Muslims face discrimination in education, housing and employment. As suggested by the various committees, the government should bring a Bill on the lines of SC/ST (Prevention) of Atrocities Act to curb discrimination against Muslims.

### SOME STEPS FOR RECOVERY

Muslims are the original inhabitants and equal citizens of India. There is no country in the world that is as multi-religious as India which is highly respected in the international community. The Indian constitution guarantees fundamental rights as equal citizens and some special rights as minorities to Indian Muslims. Indian democracy is far more than election, election results and formation of government. Muslims should utilize the democratic institutions to secure their constitutional rights and work towards strengthening the secular pillars of the nation. An eminent Muslim scholar, Omar Khalidi (1952-2010) once said, 'Indian Muslim should ensure their full participation in strengthening Indian democracy'. Second, in the face of odds they should be more creative and resilient and strive to protect the Constitution, demand their rights and fully participate in the development of the nation as an equal citizen. They should play a more active and positive role in the socio-economic development of India. Besides, some important steps for Indian Muslim recovery are suggested below.

1. *Do not live in the past, evolve with time*: It is unnecessary to ask what we were yesterday. What we are today, reason for this should be reviewed and analysed. We read history to learn lesson and not to live in that. We do it to know the causes of present condition and to plan a better future. We should never tend to dwell on the past. Rather, we should take strength from the past. Muslims should learn to evolve with time by leaving behind dark days and bad memories.

2. *Roadmap of the community development through 'Collective Wisdom'*: As minority minister, K. Rahman Khan, once said, 'The Muslim community will have to set priorities to resolve its problems and move towards the targets, otherwise problems will continue piling up and the community will just witness it helplessly.'<sup>49</sup>

In this backdrop, the community has to define its priorities and prepare the roadmap through 'collective wisdom'. The roadmap has to be defined as to what will be the priorities and course of action and what will be the community's role in India's development. For this, first the community will have to sort out its differences by working within and walking shoulder to shoulder. Community elders, intellectuals, doctors, engineers, academicians, politicians, social workers, activists, etc., will have to come on a common platform and prepare a roadmap on national level keeping in mind the need of the community on national level. Similarly, it will be done on state, district and village/ward level. While preparing the roadmap the points to be considered may be pursuit of quality education, business and industry to generate wealth and employment and welfare of women and socially backward within the community. Strengthening democracy and secularism by respecting feeling and beliefs of other faiths should be part of it.

3. *Movement to make realize the government and educate the community*: Muslims face so much deficits in matters of education, economy, infrastructure, employment, etc., and so much injustice in matters of reservation that a movement is required to make realize the government and educate the community about it. Completely peaceful and non-violent methods utilizing all democratic means is required to do this. Books, booklets, writings in newspapers, pamphlets, short documentaries, petition and memorandum to the government, local administration and ministers, assemblies, workshops, etc., are required for this purpose. Reminding the politicians on the eve of election is even better option as Muslims get their due on this occasion. Forcing the government to initiate discussion in Assemblies/Parliament can be more useful.

4. *Demand of reports in states*: The SCR motivated leaders to bring similar reports on conditions of Muslims in states. Maharashtra is one of them where the MCR is in public domain. States with high presence of Muslims like J&K, Assam, WB, Kerala, UP, Bihar, Karnataka and Delhi could think of constituting committees to bring reports on socio-economic and educational condition of Muslims. One should note that most of the empowerment issues are in state hands.

5. *Unity on non-religious matters*: There are many sects of Muslims in India and unity among them on religious matters is very much difficult. Unity is possible only in social, economic and educational matters. Omar Khalidi once said, 'In India anything that can unite Muslims is the sense of security related to matters pertaining to their life and property'.<sup>50</sup> Muslims must unite socially, economically and politically, then only they can influence the governments. Call by Muslims to unite on religious lines has been used by communal forces to communalize the social space and deprive the community from development and to keep them away from mainstream. Unity is possible only when various sects of Muslims sink their differences and join hands to face the challenges together. This is also possible in matters of injustice.

Visit of Maulana Tauqeer Raza Khan to Darul Uloom Deoband on 8 May 2016 was very crucial. A follower of the Bareilly sect, he went to Deoband to express his sympathies with the family of a youth who had been picked up by the Special Cell of Delhi Police on charges of terrorism. Differences can be eliminated and unity is possible when some respected Maulana take bold steps. Scholars of Deoband, Tablighi Jama'at, Jamat-e-Islami, Barelavi and other sects can keep following their *maslaks* but all should close their ranks to prepare a roadmap of community development for collective benefit. They should also join hands to fight injustices.

6. *Shun emotional and sentimental issues*: Right since Independence till the beginning of the twenty-first century, Muslims have been busy with sentimental issues that blocked their socio-economic progress. These issues often lead to unnecessary confrontation and violence with others. They provide a ready stick for hardline groups and media to use against Muslims. Sometimes these are created and started under a well thought plan of the Hindutva forces. In a state of emotion, which is created and whipped up by the print, visual and social media, Muslims don't see that they are playing in the hands of the very forces that are out to hurt them. Dr. (Mrs.) Syeda Hameed says, 'The more we show our anger, the more the TV anchors bait us, the more we fall into the stereotype created about us and so we are condemned to remain on the fringes of the society'.<sup>51</sup> Muslims have to move away from the usual emotive issues



and concentrate its collective energy on socio-economic problems. It is time now for Muslims to espouse development over emotion and stop reacting to provocations.

7. *Search for excellence:* The Search for excellence is the hallmark of all successful and great individuals, societies, communities, nations and civilizations. It is this search that produced a galaxy of brilliant stars in the Arab world in the fields of arts, science, medicine, chemistry, philosophy, etc. Today the search of excellence has gone out of our lives and result is that so far Muslim world has produced only 7 Nobel Prize winners while the Jews, a much smaller community, has had 129 Nobel Prize winners. It is through the search for excellence that the Jews are ruling the world in matters of science and technology, security, media and other strategical issues. One can not become great without excellence. Mediocrity is death. Mediocre men and women do not make a great society. Excellence demands from us to aim high and to make focussed, continuous, uninterrupted and lifelong effort.

8. *Political representation:* It is a must to raise the issues in the Parliament and State Assemblies. Muslims have never been adequately represented in the Parliament, State Assemblies and local bodies. This situation will remain until the government provides political reservation to minorities or implement proportional representation system in our electoral system. Till then the community has to adopt some strategy to improve representation. Government should be forced to immediately constitute a De-limitation Commission to de-reserve the SC reserved constituencies which have high percentage of Muslims. According to the Centre for Study of Development Societies in 2016, in 102 Assembly constituencies of WB, Muslim voters were in a position to decide the winning candidates. In 46 they constituted more than 50 per cent voters; in 16 seats 40 to 50 per cent; in 33 seats 30 to 40 per cent and in 50 constituencies 20 to 30 per cent voters were Muslims.<sup>52</sup> Analysis in this way is certainly going to increase the number of Muslim MLAs. Similar analysis could be done in all constituencies where share of Muslim voters is more than 20 per cent. Muslims should go for tactical voting. We can ask secular parties that have been getting Muslim votes for decades, to give tickets to Muslim

candidates in proportion to the share of population. Muslim base parties should align with parties of other marginalized groups. Muslim leaders should not give speeches on religious and emotional matters, rather they should raise the issue of human rights, lack of justice, lack of fair opportunities, police brutalities and development deficits of other deprived communities.

9. *Agitation for reservation*: Peaceful rallies, *dharnas* and other methods may be used to make the government aware about issues Muslims are facing in matters of reservation. Submitting petition and memorandum to the ministers and local administration, organizing workshops and intellectuals discussion on the topic, writings in newspapers, publishing booklets, etc., can be useful. Muslim representatives can rise above the party line and force the government to have discussion on it in the Parliament and State Assemblies. Muslims should note that in no circumstances they take law in their hands and resort to violence. Because, it would be turned into a communal situation and they will not get any benefit. Moreover, Muslim community as a whole can not and should not get reservation as it cannot pass the legal scrutiny. Giving SC status to Dalit Muslims, a most backward sub-category within OBC for Muslim OBCs and ST status to all tribal Muslims would be the best and most effective way of reservation. Government should be asked to raise the reservation cap beyond 50 per cent as 80 per cent backward castes of all religions are competing to get job in 50 per cent quota while 50 per cent seats are given to forward castes which are about 20 per cent of the population, which is against the spirit of social justice. Furthermore in the era of economic liberalization, if reservation is not given in private sectors, it would again be mockery of social justice.

10. *Remind un-fulfilled promises*: Congress party on the national level and many secular/regional parties in the states have been getting support of Muslims in elections for decades mostly in the name of protection. After these two reports, lot of awareness is created and now the community is putting up before these parties socio-economic, educational and reservation demands. These parties are also making promises but in most of the states these are unfulfilled. There should be a critical analysis of promises made in the

previous election and promises fulfilled before the next election. Now time has come to remind these parties about their promises and unkept promises. Assam, WB, Kerala, Bihar, UP, Karnataka, Telangana, Delhi and Maharashtra have significant share of Muslims in state population where this practice can be adopted. We do not keep reminding them and thus these parties do not keep their promises. The classic example is the SP government in UP which came to power in 2012 mostly on the support of Muslims. Promises made by the SP, before the election (2017) remained mostly unfulfilled. It promised to give reservation to Muslims in proportion to their population. No process was started by the SP government.<sup>53</sup> It promised protection but Muzaffarnagar riot, treatment given to Muslims afterwards, Dadri lynching and many communal riots tell the reality. It promised justice to people illegally arrested in the name of terrorism. In a haphazard manner and without doing home work, withdrawing the serious cases is not the solution. Muslims also don't want this. Justice can be given by constituting fast-track courts, legal aid to victims, strict warning to police to show accountability, humanity and justice while arresting people under serious charges. Those promises were not fulfilled. Rihai Manch asked 41 questions from the Akhilesh Yadav government. UP Muslims must read these questions that are available on <http://twocircles.net/2016mar15/1457984078.html>. Time has come to do audit of promises made on the eve of elections.

11. *South Indian model of development*: Syed Iqbal Hasnain, former Vice-Chancellor of Calicut University, in a book titled *Muslims in North India: Frozen in the Past*, writes, 'There is a spectacular "digital divide" between South and North Indian Muslims in terms of education, and thereby in political empowerment.'<sup>54</sup> South Indian Muslims and their leaders are well informed and have made tremendous progress in terms of education. They are equal partners in the state development by becoming part of the mainstream. They have established good institutions of higher learning and are coming forward in good numbers in UPSC and AIMS. Muslim literacy in Kerala is close to 100 per cent. Thus, we can adopt this model of development not only in terms of education but also in political representation, reservation, mainstreaming, etc.

12. *Spending on religion and culture*: It is time for Indian Muslims to do deep introspection and audit of expenditure on large religious gatherings, *mushairas*, *iftar* parties, etc. Lakhs of people are gathered and crores of rupees are spent on religious gatherings like *ijtema*, etc. It puts extra pressure on already burdened civic amenities and antagonizes the Hindutva elements. Dawah is important and for which other means like small meetings, internet, mobile, writings, dialogues, workshops, etc., may be used. *Mushairas* represent feudal mentality of the past. On every *mushaira* Rs. 5 to 10 lakh are spent and the occasion is used for political mileage and self-promotion at the cost of community's development. This huge money can be spent on libraries, scholarships and skill development of poor women. Lakhs of rupees are spent on *iftar* parties which have no religious significance. These parties are totally politicized today and are arranged to please political bosses. These unnecessary spendings may be stopped and resources may be diverted for construction of quality schools, scholarships, creation of employment opportunities, skill development, etc.

13. *Youth are big capital*: Youth are the best capital and biggest resource for the community. They must be groomed, trained and properly motivated to take tomorrow's responsibility on their shoulder. They may be asked to go for pursuit of excellence. Feeling of inferiority and despair is not the solution. They can be asked to refrain from spending their valuable time in bad contacts and utilize their energy to gain excellence, to get higher administrative jobs, to do business, etc., and take part in nation building.

14. *Shun radical ideologies*: Although most religions of the world preach peace, justice and humanity, fundamentalist and radical thoughts are present, in varied degrees, among followers of all most all religions. Islam preaches peace, humanity and social justice. In many cases, extremist thoughts and extremist organizations in Islamic world have been created by the West. Osama bin Laden, Al-Qaeda, Taliban and similar organizations were created by the West to serve their interest in the world politics. Ulema and academicians have even been saying that ISIS is the creation of the state of Israel to defame Islam and kill Muslims whose ideologies do not match with that of the ISIS ([www.globalresearch.ca/isis-in-a-us-israeli-](http://www.globalresearch.ca/isis-in-a-us-israeli-)

creation-top-ten-indications/5518627). Moderate Islam and peace loving Muslims are the biggest threat to the enemies of Islam. Due to its core principles Islam is the fastest growing religion in the West. It is our duty to shun and condemn in the strongest term all radical ideologies and killings in the name of religion. Youth are advised to shun radical ideologies and concentrate energy on socio-economic and educational empowerment. At the same time Muslims should be vigilant to designs of the enemies who purposely spread radicalism among their youths. Moreover, they have to be more vigilant and ready to fight injustices committed by security agencies to youths in the name of terrorism.

15. *Community think tank*: The concept of think tanks or policy institutes is not new to Muslims. *Bayt-al-Hikma* (House of wisdom) was based in Baghdad during the Islamic golden age from the ninth to thirteenth centuries. It had produced many intellectuals. Even Christian and Jewish intellectuals were part of it. Besides academic work, those intellectuals made remarkable contribution to diverse fields. In present context a think tank is an organization, institute or group of individuals that conducts research analysis and engages in advocacies in the fields of social policy, politics, economy, science and technology, business and defence. Many bureaucrats working in the present government are products of the Vivekananda International Foundation (VIF) which is a think tank associated with the RSS. Some think tanks are operating against the interest of Muslims by systematically corrupting the intellectual space through misleading and false information. The Muslim community is in urgent need of founding think tanks that would conduct research analysis in required fields. Lack of effective think tank among Muslims in India is due to planning and unity and not due to shortage of intellectuals. We should have effective think tanks that would not only conduct research and analysis on the issues associated with Muslims but issues related to other marginalized communities also.

16. *Dialogue as communication*: There are some political parties and organizations that do not accept the denial, deprivation and backwardness of Muslims and oppose all measures to correct development deficit. They want to see Muslims as a subjugated com-

munity. The RSS and its affiliates are such organizations. To fulfil poll promises made to Muslims, some secular parties start few measures of welfare and affirmative action. But these actions are immediately termed as appeasement. Due to fear of losing the majority vote, these parties become cautious and stop these measures. In that situation, it is the responsibility of the community leaders to have a dialogue with the organizations that oppose Muslim welfare. Through facts and figures we can have a discussion with leaders of such organizations. Even we can write letters and submit memorandum to them citing factual details.

17. *Quality NGOs*: Today NGOs are working in the fields of education, health, child welfare, women empowerment, minority welfare, social justice, human rights, employment generation, poverty alleviation, science and technology, rural development, etc. There are more than 31 lakh NGOs registered in India and thus there is an NGO for every 600 citizens.<sup>55</sup> Unfortunately, there is acute scarcity of NGOs among Muslims. Most of the Muslim NGOs are un-organized and lack infrastructure, proper guidance and have very less coordination with the government departments. They lack initiative, vision and proper working to impress the government. K. Rahman Khan had once lamented that no community NGO had come forward to help then government to implement the SCR. So, the community must create more and more quality NGOs to work in the fields of educational awareness, community empowerment and social justice. They can play an effective role in acting as a bridge between the community and the government for effective implementation of various schemes.

18. *Use of RTI*: The Right to Information (RTI) Act, 2005 is a revolutionary Act of twenty-first century which has brought transparency and accountability in the government departments. It is also a tool in the hands of weaker sections of the society. Because of this many scams and corruptions have been exposed. However, some dishonest and corrupt people are trying to misuse the Act posing themselves as RTI activists and harassing and blackmailing the dedicated and honest officers. Wajahat Habibullah, a retired IAS officer and former Chief Information Commissioner, advises the Muslims to use the RTI to hold government accountable. Afroz

Alam Sahil, a famous RTI activist who has filed more than 5,000 RTI applications, says that one can bring about revolution in his area, district, state and country by filing RTI about the funds to councillors, MLAs, MPs and its usages. One can also use it to fill the gap of socio-economic progress. Through RTI, information about welfare schemes and list of beneficiaries may be taken. A rickshaw puller in Bihar, Mazloom Nadaf got his house constructed under the IAY by filing an RTI application.<sup>56</sup> Information about funds allocated under MSDP, status of work in MCDs, status of implementation of the Sachar Committee recommendations, number of Waqf properties and their use/misuse can be gathered. Information on social issues as well as on false claims of agencies to defame the community can be collected. Short duration training and workshops may be organized for awareness and effective use of the Act.

19. *Social networking*: The present era belongs to social networking. Today anyone can post his news and become a journalist through social media networks. It has empowered common citizens to express their opinions, dissent and distress without anyone censoring it. One can intervene in discussion to influence public opinion on important issues. One needs to be transparent while posting a post. Full authenticity should be maintained. Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, etc., are the examples of social media which can be used effectively. One has to evolve strategies, develop skills and target audience for effective use of it. It can be used for giving justice to deprived people. In this regard the work of Irfan Usmani, a journalist and social activist, has been highly appreciated who has posted the photos and videos of combing operations in Mumbra.

20. *Team of community activists*: Dr. Sir Iqbal, a legendary Urdu poet, said, 'Jumbish se hai zindagi jahaan ki' (Dynamism enlivens the world). Muslims need dynamism or activism to plan and execute above mentioned steps. They have to make and train a chain of activists who could work in fields like education, economy, social justice, fighting instances of injustice, mainstreaming, protection of Waqf properties, communal harmony, etc. Educated individuals who are involved in private business or industry or are in private jobs may devote their time and resources for this purpose. Retired government officials who have vast knowledge and

experience can do this effectively. One should remember that to do activism one needs time, resource and a little bit of courage. Passivity resembles death. Muslims have to create a chain of community activists who could work courageously and pull out the community from the present condition.

#### TWENTY STEPS FOR INDIAN MUSLIMS' RECOVERY

Dr. Syed Zafar Mahmood is a man of impeccable integrity whose hardwork and excellent effort has brought tremendous awareness in the community about education, Waqf properties, reservation, employment generation, etc. In the wake of the SCR, he has taken many initiatives to pursue the implementation of the major recommendations of the SCR. Through ZFI, he has undertaken some innovative steps for the community's empowerment. Through powerpoint presentations, he has been highlighting the socio-economic deprivation of the community and his many suggestions have been accepted by the government and has become part of some legislations. His article titled 'Twenty Steps for Indian Muslim Recovery', a must read for every Muslim, is an excellent set of advice for the community activists. He has explained about the creation of a database of the community in a specific area, list of government schemes, preparing list of beneficiaries and how to take benefit from those schemes. Listing of Waqf properties and issues associated with them, awareness through Friday sermons and link of ZFI's guidance on every issue are the main features of this article. The article is available on: [http://twocircles.net/2014june17/twenty\\_steps\\_indian\\_muslim\\_recovery.html](http://twocircles.net/2014june17/twenty_steps_indian_muslim_recovery.html) and <http://www.zakatIndia.org>.

#### TO SUM UP

Indian Muslims, a 180-million strong community, constitutes about 15 per cent of the national population and is the second largest majority community or the largest minority group in India. It is more than the total population of many countries in Europe and Africa. Muslims are the original inhabitants of India and they have



contributed substantially towards nation building as equal citizen. They have claim on the resources of our country like all others. India can't progress in real sense if 15 per cent of the population is left behind. Without their participation, India cannot achieve development it deserves. After 70 years of Independence, the time has now come to have an open and frank discussion on socio-economic and educational denial and deprivation and mainstreaming and above all what it means to be a Muslim in India.

There is an urgent need to recognize that although Muslim issues directly face the Muslim community, but their impact affects whole of the Indian society. It is always in the national interest to pull the community at par with others. In short, issues and problems of Muslims should be treated as national problems. Such recognition is necessary for effective realization of the dreams of the framers of the Constitution.

The community's effort will not be materialized or its initiatives will not bring any result unless the obstacles put by various state and non-state actors are removed. Deep rooted bias, discrimination and prejudices must be tackled effectively. For this the Prevention of Communal Violence Bill, 2013 and an Anti-discrimination Act as suggest in this book must be passed. Besides, the government has to focus on mainstreaming measures like the EOC, DIx, NDB and good quality mainstream schools in the Muslim populated areas. Reservation measures as suggested in the book will provide a fillip for the community's overall development as participation in education would increase in the hope of getting government jobs. This trend has already been observed in the case of SCs and STs.

In the wake of the SCR, then UPA government had started some schemes for uplifting the community. The government response can be termed as half-hearted as provision of budget and sincerity as demanded from the officials did not match the level of deprivation in the community. The community demands concrete steps. Besides, adequate provision of budget and bringing these schemes from papers to the field will be helpful.

Slogans like 'Sabka Saath, Sabka Vikas' and PM's statement in the Parliament, 'Even the third generation of Muslim brothers, whom I have seen since my young days, are continuing with their

cycle repair job. . . . Nobody can be called healthy if one of the organs is disabled',<sup>57</sup> generated hope in the community that this government would be different and would show some sense of humanity in tackling their problems. But anti-Muslim statements and hate campaigns of leaders of ruling dispensation, has created fear in the minds of Muslims. Mob lynching, attack on Muslims by *gau-rakshaks* (cow protectors), various attacks on Muslims due to their identity and indiscriminate arrests in the name of terrorism, have started the process of further marginalization of Muslims. Attacks on religious minorities is sullying the image of India and sending a wrong message to the international community. Attitude of the present government on issues like reservation, SC status to Muslims and on various empowerment measures has completely disheartened the community. Slogans and statements of PM Modi about Muslims do not match with the action of his government. 20.5 per cent Muslim workers engaged in manufacturing are crucial for Modi's pet programme 'Make in India'. Similarly 16.8 per cent Muslim workers engaged in wholesale and retail activity can play a vital role in boosting domestic and international trade.<sup>58</sup> The present government is advised not to ignore Muslims and include them in the nation building.

The community has to do self-appraisal and will have to strive to put its own house in order and make all out effort for its empowerment. It is time Muslims in India analyse their worsening conditions, know reasons behind these and take effective steps for recovery of the community. Steps for recovery are already mentioned with facts and figures in this book. When the Sachar Committee was set up, Syed Hamid (1920-2014), a retired IAS officer and diplomat, had said, 'Muslims will certainly get benefit if the report comes in public domain. . . . It is not that the government would do something. . . . But because we would evaluate that what our weaknesses are and where we have to work hard.'<sup>59</sup> Thus community initiatives become vital because 'God will not change the status of a community that does not have the will to change'. Because of awareness created by the SCR, some community initiatives have been started but these are too less in number to tackle the huge socio-economic deprivation. The community should note that the

government can only be a facilitator and it can never act like a guardian of any particular community in a secular set-up. Therefore, more initiatives, focused in nature, have to be started in all fields of socio-economic and educational spheres.

Prophet Muhammad (*pbuh*) had a questioning mind and he had questioned old customs, inhuman practices, age-old traditions and propagated the most modern thought. *Ulema* along with intellectuals and community elders must instill in youths rational thoughts and 'scientific temper' and encourage them to achieve their goals in life. They have to succeed here to succeed in the hereafter. Instilling imaginary fear in them about danger to Islam and following only orthodox methods in binding them, is not going to work any more. Muslims need informed and proactive *ulemas*. Former Malaysian PM, Mahathir Mohammad once said, 'It is not Islam that stands in the way of development, but the politicized *ulema* who argue that knowledge in religious matters alone is enough to make them better human beings'.<sup>60</sup> Engagement with as well as discussion on non-issues, emotional and sentimental issues are not going to bring any socio-economic change. So, we have to shun them to save our energy.

Education is the only key to bring socio-economic progress. Islam has always encouraged acquisition of knowledge. India is emerging as a knowledge society and soon will become the intellectual capital of Asia. Muslims have to become equal partner in this process. Muslim students have to work hard to come at par with students of other SRCs. They have to take extra pain and in the process have to sacrifice worldly pleasures. Conquer the world with the help of knowledge and good deeds. Take control of knowledge and libraries. Besides, parents are also advised to devote their time and energy and make sacrifices for the future of their children. They are our biggest asset for the future.

Significance of individual initiatives has already been mentioned at many places in this book. Individuals have to be groomed, motivated and trained effectively to achieve their desired goals/targets. Allah loves excellence. Youths should work hard to achieve it as mediocrity is akin to death. Proper planning is basic requirement for any success. Those who plan well succeed in their life. If

one does not plan for his success, by default, he is planning for his failure. Plan future in a proper way. Accepting deprivation and going away from mainstreams is not a good sign. Hopelessness is *kufir* in Islam. Start your work with new enthusiasm, hope and courage. Efforts, not results, count in the eyes of Allah. One should keep making effort. Results would be achieved one day.

Even in 70 years of Independence, if the conditions of Muslims could not improve, then it is a point of deep introspection for the government. Due to bias, discrimination and prejudices, Muslims feel excluded and marginalized. If some sections of the population feel like this, it is the duty of the government to address the issues that bother them. Token measures have failed and now it has to start concrete measures. Besides, members of the community have to start efforts and initiatives in proportion to its backwardness.

Latest data, which is already in public domain, has been produced in the book to make realize the government the level of socio-economic deprivation the community is facing. Motive: the government should take concrete measures. Besides, this book intends to make the community know the level of deprivation it is facing when other SRCs are moving fast ahead. I wish the community take clue from this and start community initiatives on large scale. I also intend to make realize members of other SRCs, particularly my Hindu brothers, the kind of socio-economic deprivation Muslims are facing. To make India a superpower, they have to give a helping hand to Muslims to bring them on par with all citizens of India. I would feel rewarded, if any of these motives behind writing this book is fulfilled. I want this book to contribute substantially in the empowerment of Muslims and nation building.

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# Epilogue

The publication process of this volume took close to one-and-half years during which many peculiar but important developments took place pertaining to socio-economic, security and identity issues of Muslims. The arrival of the Narendra Modi government at the centre (2014) and its various policies (written and unwritten) have pushed the socio-economic issues to the backseat. Even the community has lost the will to concentrate on these issues due to mental engagement with other problems. On the other hand security issues and concerns have been in the forefront. There have been continuous attack on Muslims (physical, emotional, etc.) with the motive to deny and deprive them of their genuine rights, to push them out of the mainstream, to ghettoize them, etc. Issues like communal riots, mob lynching, atrocities and criminal activities of gau rakshakas, triple talaq, rampant discrimination, etc., have completely engaged the mind and energy of the community. Closure of various minority schemes, reduction in minority budget and attack on traditional businesses of the community has been rampant in this regime. Discourse on the SCR and RMCR has completely stopped. Suddenly Muslims have become the ‘other’ in their own homeland. This compelled me to write an epilogue, even though a conclusion was already present, to highlight the latest developments or incidents after the proofs were ready to be seen off to the press.

## NOT A DEVELOPMENT SUBJECT

The PSEC report concluded that the Muslim community had emerged as a ‘development subject’ rather than a ‘socio-religious community’ in the post-Sachar era. Few institutions were created and some schemes started to address the development deficits of



Muslims. However, this situation has changed entirely during the present regime. Promises to implement the SCR and the RMCR dominated the election campaign of all Assembly elections before the 2014 General Election, keeping in mind the constituency of Muslim voters. In UP Assembly election of 2012, the Congress, the SP and the BSP thoroughly focused on these reports and promised to implement them fully. However, these reports were not convened in the UP Assembly election of 2017. Other Muslim issues were also not addressed. These parties feared that any promise to Muslims would invite the charge of minority appeasement from the BJP which would antagonize the majority community voters. The defining image of the Narendra Modi government is actually a non-image: the missing Muslim subject. The so called secular and regional parties have been deliberately avoiding to talk about socio-economic issues of Muslims who, now, are not being seen as a 'development subject' due to fear of majority Hindu vote being communalized. The Congress party which had these two reports prepared and started some minority schemes, now, does not want to be seen to be with the Muslims. In the changed scenario, it does not want to utter a single word about their welfare. It is anxious to get rid of the tag of Muslim appeasement. Moreover, it has distanced itself from Muslims and adopted a 'soft Hindutva' image to get back into the electoral game. Rahul Gandhi has been visiting series of temples to build this image. He deliberately ignored Muslims and did not address their socio-economic issues. Moreover, there appears to be a consensus among all political parties to not address the concerns of Muslims. Even media, scholars and political commentators do not show any interest to highlight the development deficits of Muslims and the alienation they face.

Muslims are massively marginalized in the polity of India in this regime. There is a general apathy shown by most political parties towards Muslims. Nowadays no political party talks about the Muslim voters. It is unusual as both the BJP and the Congress parties are pretending that Muslims do not exist in their game plan. This Lok Sabha has the lowest number of Muslim MPs. UP Assembly has the all time low number of Muslim MLAs. In Gujarat, although Muslims constitute 9.67 per cent of the state population,

the BJP didn't field a single Muslim candidate in the 2017 Assembly election. The Congress fielded only six. Muslims had never been as much ignored by the Congress as they were ignored in the Gujarat election this time around. Assembly elections in many states show that the political landscape in India is changing fast for Muslims. Muslim voters are feeling disillusioned by politics and politicians, irrespective of the party, primarily because of the failure to address their issues. Due to the efficient communalization of politics by the BJP, Muslims are not considered as potential winning candidates. During the Gujarat Assembly election, Hanif Lakdawala, a Gujarati social activists said, 'I think no Muslim goes to political parties and no political parties go to Muslims. This is generally true and this time too.'<sup>1</sup> In a famous article Harsh Mander says that political parties are unwilling to field Muslim candidates and they fear to openly seek Muslim votes. Muslims are a political liability today. He says that today the large majority of Indian Muslims feel more profoundly alone and abandoned (*The Indian Express*, 16 March 2018).

#### CURRENT STATUS

The PSEC report concluded that although some important changes were noticed in the socio-economic condition of Muslims in the post-Sachar period, it continued to be one of the most deprived SRCs in India. As per a report titled Household Consumer Ex-

TABLE 1.1: RECENT HOUSEHOLD MPCE IN SRCs

Household	Total MPCE (Rs.)			Proportion of MPCE on food (in %)	
	Rural	Urban	Difference	Rural	Urban
Hindu	1,757	2,935	67%	56	43
Muslim	1,760	2,355	34%	59	49
Christian	2,200	3,242	47%	54	43
Others	2,397	3,537	48%	52	39
All	1,430	2,630	84%	53	43

Source: *The Indian Express*, 18 October 2017.

penditure across Religious Groups in India released by the Ministry of Statistics, Muslim community remains one of the poorest sections of the Indian society. Household MPCE, usually taken to reflect the living standards of households, is Rs. 2,355 for urban Muslims which is lower than the national average (Rs. 2,630) and the least among all SRCs.

The share of food expenditure for Muslims in rural India is 59.3 per cent and that in urban is 49.5 per cent which are higher than the national average in both areas. Economists say that the poor tend to spend most of their expenditure on essentials like food. The share of spending on food and beverages decreases as a household's income rises. The spending proportion of Muslims on food is the highest which indicates that their income is very low.<sup>2</sup>

Muslims have registered socio-economic progress but it is the least compared to all SRCs. In the race for development they are lagging far far behind. Their condition has been rendered worse in the Modi regime. Millions of common Muslims are living in abject poverty and abysmal living conditions. Extreme poverty in Muslims has started showing its consequences. Malnutrition, death due to hunger, chronic diseases related to poverty, involvement of poor Muslim youths in petty crimes for monetary gain, selling of young babies to arrange money for bigger need of the family, etc., are some of the noticeable consequences. Economists predict that if this situation persists, Muslims will soon become the neo-Dalits of the Indian society.

#### PSEC REPORT NOT IMPLEMENTED

After four years of submission of the PSEC report, the centre has not yet clarified whether it has accepted or rejected it. The MMA is not sure what to do with it. Several MPs including Chandra Prakash Joshi of BJP, Hussain Dalwai, Avinash Pandey, M.V. Rajeev Gauda and Mohammad Adeb of the Congress and Gundu Sudharai of the TRS have inquired about the status of the report and intention of the government.<sup>3</sup> Each time the government replied that it was under consideration, and that it had been sent to the PMO for wider consultation with all other ministries. Experts say

that the present government has put it into the deep freezer as it does not want to implement it. The government has questioned the veracity of this report deliberately for the reasons that it contains the seeds of reservation, anti-discrimination law, the EOC, SC status to the Muslim Dalits, etc. The BJP has been from its inception ideologically resistant to these issues.

### MOB LYNCHING ON RISE

The cases of targeted killing and mob lynching in the name of 'cow protection', 'beef carrying', 'Love Jihad', etc., have been reported from across the country mainly from BJP-ruled states. There is no sign of decrease in these incidents inspite of world wide condemnation and the Supreme Court issuing strict guidelines. The anti-cow slaughter movement in India is turning out to be like the infamous Blasphemy Law of Pakistan which mainly targets the weak and the minorities. These incidents are characterized by several factors: targeting of Muslims, open challenge to the authority of law and silence of the people in power. PM Modi either remained silent or just spoke from the top of his head rather than from his heart. It was a selective condemnation in which he just referred to the cow vigilantes as 'anti-social elements' who are in fact rabid communalists and organized criminals.

In response to a PIL, the Supreme Court harshly criticized the 'cow vigilantism' and inaction of the states to tackle it. The SCI has ruled that cow vigilantism 'must stop' and directed all states to appoint nodal officers to ensure it. It has also directed states to file status reports on what they are doing to prevent vigilantism.

However, in BJP-ruled states (Haryana, Rajasthan, UP, Uttarakhand, etc.) where most of the lynching have happened there is an all out and planned efforts to save these accused by using all sorts of tricks by the police and prosecutors. On the other hand, cases on Muslims (on the charges of cow killing, beef eating, etc.) are being followed up vigorously by the police. For example, after two years when Mohammad Akhlaq was lynched in Dadri, 16 out of the 19 accused were out on bail. Three of the accused were juveniles who were back in the village in less than a year after the incident. Charges were yet to be framed in the local fast-track court. Mean-

while, an FIR against Akhlaq and his six other family members was filed in 2016 under anti-cow slaughter and animal cruelty laws. Two cattle traders were hung from a tree in Latehar of Jharkhand. All the eight accused got bail from Jharkhand High Court in October 2016.<sup>4</sup> Similarly, in Pehlu Khan's murder case, Alwar Police closed investigation against the named accused. Even after one year, investigation was underway and no chargesheet was filed. In the horrifying Junaid murder case in Haryana, the district court judge Y.S. Rathod, in a written order, charged the government Additional Advocate General Naveen Kaushik of helping defence lawyers and ordered him to resign.<sup>5</sup>

These incidents have shaken the conscience of the nation and peace loving people. Sixty seven ex-IAS and ex-IPS officers including Keshav Desi Raju, Harsh Mander, Wajahat Habibullah, Julio Rebeiro, Rahul Sharma, etc., wrote a letter to the Central government and condemned those incidents. To no avail of course. They castigated Modi for being a silent spectator and the state governments for not taking serious measures to curb those incidents.

Analysis of these incidents reveal that it is nothing more than an addition of yet another chapter in the long history of anti-Muslim hate agenda. These are being done in a planned way to communalize the social space in India. It is a huge challenge to the Constitution, rule of law and authority of the state. Mobs indulge in violence with the tacit support of the state. Faizan Mustafa, in an article, describes in detail that Indian judiciary has been far superior than the judiciary in Pakistan in delivering justice and upholding the Constitution. Still he advised Indian judiciary to look at Pakistan courts while dealing with lynching of Mashal Khan, in which the accused were convicted with death penalty within a record nine-month hearing.<sup>6</sup>

#### DEMONIZATION OF MUSLIMS

It appears, as if, there is a systematic machinery which is working day-in and day-out to create a strong narrative around some issues to demonize Indian Muslims. There is a strong resolve, in a planned and systematic way, to psychologically demolish Indian Muslims to keep them and subjugated, to keep them out of the mainstream,

to ghettoize them and to distract their attention from socio-economic development. Police and intelligence agencies, other government machinery, media and Hindutva organizations have been playing their assigned role in defaming Muslims. Some observations are given below:

1. It is deeply painful and disturbing to see the arrest of Muslim youths on mere suspicion of their belonging to some terrorist organizations which do not exist on Indian soil. This trend is not abating even after acquittal in hundreds of terror-related cases. On the first day of the arrest, the arrested youths are portrayed as dreaded terrorists by the media under complete guidance of agencies. The media amplify these cases at their prime time TV shows but the subsequent clean chit to the youths by the courts fall on deaf ears.
2. Although people belonging to all castes and religions (the majority being Hindus) have been arrested on the charges of spying for ISI of Pakistan, but only Muslims are defamed. Muslims are baselessly and wrongly portrayed as sympathizers of Pakistan.
3. Riots are organized against Muslims in a planned way, but they are branded as 'communal'.
4. Cases of instant triple talaq are very few in Muslim families, still the whole community is blamed for this. The national media behaves as if the triple talaq Bill is the solution to all problems of Muslims.
5. Although the sex ratio and the child sex ratio is above the national average and far better than of the Hindus, Muslims are portrayed as being gender insensitive and cruel to women (see Chapter 5).
6. On the alleged population growth of Muslims: Although the TFR and decadal growth rate are falling fast in Muslims (Chapter 5).
7. *Madrasas* have been described as hub of terrorists.
8. Disrespect to the national flag (the whole nation knows the true story of the Kasganj incident).

Similarly Muslims are demonized on other issues by media which is playing in the hands of the government and communal elements. There are some possible reasons for this large scale propaganda to target Muslims and keep them always in the line of fire.

1. To distract attention of the people of India from the matters of common concern (shrinking jobs, rising unemployment, rampant economic mismanagement, farmer suicides, various scams, etc.).
2. To keep Muslims engaged in non-productive discussions on issues such as Personal Laws, National Anthem, Love Jihad, etc.
3. To divert the attention of Muslims from socio-economic issues or progress.
4. To keep Muslims under perpetual insecurity (Love Jihad, mob lynching, killing in the name of cow protection, etc.).
5. To implement the divide and rule policy and gain political dividends in state elections due to polarization.<sup>7</sup>

Syed Ali Mujtaba, a journalist in Chennai, offers some pointers to counter this situation. He suggests Muslim youths to stay focused on life's primary goals that are: education, career, business, social work, etc. Muslims youths should not be driven by emotions and get hyper reactive to these emotional issues. They should not engage themselves on non-productive discussions and should pool their time and resources for the socio-economic progress.

The constant propaganda against Muslims, demonization and their negative profiling can cause alienation among them. As a result of this, there will be enough space for fissiparous tendencies leading to long term fissures. Studies show that this may also lead to loss of belongingness and radicalization in the community. Finally the community can go out of the mainstream which would affect their socio-economic progress.

#### ‘GO TO PAKISTAN’

Many prominent BJP/RSS leaders (including ministers, MPs, MLAs, etc.) have been saying that Muslims should not live in India anymore and they should go to Pakistan. ‘Go to Pakistan’ is said in the context of political scenario and several contemporary burning issues. For example, Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi gave this statement in the context of beef eating, Vinay Katiyar, a BJP MP, in the context of Kasganj riot, Giriraj Singh, a central minister on several occasions, some leaders in the context of singing Vande Mataram, etc. These statements might have been given in the context of

different issues, but the meaning has similar agenda. The slogans do not signify that Muslims should go to Pakistan in reality. The main idea is to terrorize Muslims, push them to a limited area and create ghetto (mini Pakistan) within India. The probable reasons of creating ghettos may be as follows:

1. Louis Wirth, a twentieth century American sociologist terms ghettos as an 'instrument of control'. These are created to facilitate proper control by security agencies, deny them of basic rights in case of emergency, etc.
2. To create culture of suspicion, hatred and finally to engineer communal violence.
3. To create ghettos within cities where minorities are denied basic civic amenities and compel them to live in inhuman conditions, inadequate spaces which further lead to exclusion and give them a sense of second-class citizen status in the country.
4. To push them out of Hindu-dominated areas to purify the areas as Muslims are termed as impure, beef eaters and *maleech* (the lowborn).

Asrarul Haque, a student of M.Phil at JNU, writes, 'Go to Pakistan' is not a slogan. It is an attempt to create a conducive environment where hatred and fear can prevail which further leads to push factors for the minority community. The final result is to create Mini Pakistan (ghetto) within India to alienate one community from another.<sup>8</sup>

#### ANTI-MUSLIM STAND AND APATHY

Ever since it came to power in 2014, the Modi government has taken anti-Muslim stand and shown apathy on a range of socio-economic and educational issues through executive orders and affidavits in various courts. These stands are mentioned in Chapters 6, 13, 15, 16, 17 and 18. The attitude of the government on minority budget, stopping of minority schemes and discrimination of Muslims are discussed in the coming sections. Some of them are given here.



1. The Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI) was granted the status of a 'minority university' in 2011 by the NCMEI. The HRD ministry in this regime through an affidavit filed in the Delhi High Court on 5 March 2018 opposed the earlier stand of the UPA government in this matter. The present affidavit concludes that JMI 'is not a minority institution, having been set up by an Act of Parliament and founded by central government and also that it was not set up by a minority sect'.<sup>9</sup> Such attempts expose the hollowness of the Modi government.
2. AMU off-campus centres in Kishanganj, Murshidabad and Mallapuram are facing apathy of this regime. Due to low funds and bad management, academic environment are badly affected. The Kishanganj centre has no allocated and specified buildings and hostel rooms are being used to run the classes.<sup>10</sup>
3. As per the Waqf Act, State Waqf Boards are exempted from the income tax. However, the Directorate General of Central Excise issued a notice in June 2017 and directed all SWBs to pay 15 per cent tax on income from their commercial properties from 2012 till date. This issue cropped up due to implementation of GST. Many SWBs have criticized the decision of the central government and decided to move to the court in case the government did not withdraw that.<sup>11</sup>
4. In December 2015, the Supreme Court directed all states to straight way take steps for constituting a three-member Waqf tribunal as mandated by Section 83(4) of the Waqf Act, 2013. The court gave four months time to issue the order and constitute the tribunal.<sup>12</sup> However, till date, majority of the states (mostly ruled by the BJP) have not constituted the tribunal and there is no effort from the CWC to get the work done from the states.
5. Eighty per cent of the proposed central fund in its flagship Smart City mission will flow to already developed pockets that account for only 2.7 per cent of the identified cities.<sup>13</sup> It is observed that while finalizing projects of development in identified cities, Muslim populated areas have been grossly neglected and are not included in the proposed development. Therefore, it is much less likely that Muslim dominated areas would benefit under this scheme.
6. In a landmark judgement, the Supreme Court, in April 2016,

ruled that a person can change religion and faith but not the caste to which he belongs.<sup>14</sup> Dalit Muslims and Dalit Christians changed their faith (religion) centuries back to escape the tyranny of the Brahmanical system (*varna vyavastha*). However, they did not change their caste and they continued in the profession attached to their castes. They face the stigma attached with their caste even today and their socio-economic condition has not improved. Ignoring these facts and this judgement of the court, the present government gave a reply in the court and clarified that it did not support the demand of Dalits belonging Muslim and Christian community for SC status.

Besides the concerns mentioned here, there are various socio-economic and security related issues on which this government has taken anti-Muslim stands which has frightened and further alienated the community.

#### RISING DISCRIMINATION

Muslims in India face discrimination everywhere. Discrimination covers a whole range of areas—employment in public and private sectors; representation in parliament and assemblies; educational opportunities; glaring communal bias in textbooks; police partiality; hostile attitude of government agencies and the state's action to protect the weak and the minorities. The situation is going from bad to worse under this regime. Muslim face discrimination on daily basis—very few cases are reported in media while unreported cases are very high. It has become very difficult to take or give a flat on rent. The moment an owner comes to know the Muslim identity of a person seeking a flat on rent, he immediately refuses to do so. Even highly educated Muslims including IT professionals, managers, big businessmen, etc., have been refused flat on rent in Hindu-dominated areas. They are asked to rent flats in Muslim localities.

Highly educated and deserving candidates have been denied jobs in private firms due to their Muslim identity. Abu Noman Khan, a young electrical engineer, was called by the JDVL group, a consultancy firm, for a vacancy in MBL Thermal and Hydro

Power Plant for interview on 26 July 2017. He was bluntly told that he was not eligible as he was a Muslim. A lady interviewer told him, 'We can't hire you because you are a Muslim.' Another Muslim boy who was present there for interview disclosed that he was also denied job on three occasions as he was a Muslim.<sup>15</sup> These kind of incidents have seen a multifold rise after the BJP came to power in 2014.

In November 2017, the BJP government in Rajasthan sought the details of Muslim employees working in health department across the state. The proforma was to be filled by each Muslim employee which sought many personal information. The order raised concern of 'racial profiling' among the state's Muslim employees. But the state government claimed that the order was issued as part of its implementation of the SCR recommendations. However, many questions arise here. First: the SCR asked the state to post Muslim health employees in Muslim populated areas. Instead of doing this, why did it start the profiling of Muslim employees? Why did the state start the implementation of a simple recommendation after eleven years of the SCR? Why it started such an activity when there is no recent circular from the central government? This has created too much fear in the community as many Hindutva leaders have boldly given statements to reduce Muslim population. Others have declared that the community should be limited.<sup>16</sup> Experts say that it was a grave discrimination with the Muslim community with a hidden motive to frighten them and keep them under constant pressure.

The Sachar committee suggested the EOC and DIx to end discriminations in public and private sectors. The PSEC recommended an anti-discrimination legislation on the lines of the SC/ST Atrocities Act to curb discrimination in day-to-day life. However, it is a pity to note that there is no talk or progress on these measures as it is totally against the agenda of the BJP.

#### MINORITY SCHEMES

Implementation of schemes meant for welfare of minorities have also been affected due to negative and hostile attitude of the government. The fund of some schemes have been slashed and some

schemes are closed while some have been made ineffective due to faulty implementation. An analysis of these schemes show that the government is just maintaining the tradition of the minority budget and has been preparing to close them slowly and slowly. Important points are:

1. The budget earmarked for the MMA (0.2 per cent of the Union Budget) largely remains unutilized. The MMA was allocated Rs. 3,712.78 crore at BE stage for 2015-16. In mid-December 2015, the ministry informed that 70.16 per cent of the BE had remained unutilized. Almost 52 per cent of the MMA's budget is earmarked for flagship schemes where utilization percentage is high. For other schemes, utilization has remained very low.
2. A new trend has been observed in the minority budget where the actual budget has been reduced while the government is claiming otherwise with the help of numerical jugglery. The Modi government proposed Rs. 4,700 crore for 2018-19 for the MMA with an increase of Rs. 504.52 crore over the previous year's budget of Rs. 4,195.43 crore. At first sight, it seems the government increased the budget of minorities. However, a close analysis reveals that some schemes of the Social Justice & Empowerment have also been included and shown among the schemes of the MMA. This means that these schemes of the SJE and fund earmarked (Rs. 1,530.39 crore) have been shown in both the ministries.<sup>17</sup> Thus, if these schemes are excluded from that of the MMA, the minority budget will go very low. It means that the government is confusing and misleading the people of the minority communities in a similar manner it is misleading the people of India on many issues.
3. In BJP-ruled states implementation of minority schemes are severely hit due to reduction in budget and indifferent attitude. The UP government cut the minority budget by Rs. 580 crore in 2017-18 which is going to hit severely the standard of living of Muslims.<sup>18</sup>
4. The agenda of the BJP and its government in the states has never been clear about the minority scholarship schemes which were quite successful in UPA's regime. The budget earmarked for pre-matric scholarship in 2015-16 was Rs. 1,040 crore which

was reduced to Rs. 931 crore in 2016-17, a reduction of Rs. 109 crore. Similarly, the post-matric scholarship was earmarked Rs. 580.10 crore in 2015-16 which was reduced to Rs. 550 crore, a reduction of Rs. 30 crore. The pre-matric scholarship allocation was again raised to Rs. 1,001.15 crore in 2017-18. But it was again reduced to Rs. 980 crore in 2018-19, a reduction of Rs. 21 crore. Deserving students are not getting scholarship amount on time, in some states even after one or two years. In August 2016, Mamata Bannerjee accused that the National Scholarship Portal (NSP) had been out of order for the previous one year under a conspiracy only to deprive the students of minority communities.<sup>19</sup> The fellowship given under Maulana Azad National Fellowship scheme is also under crisis as payment is made after long delays and research fellows are facing many problems. Surprisingly, the number of Muslim students getting MANF scholarship has come down significantly. In short, these scholarships have been on close target of the present government. Due to general apathy and complicated procedures (deliberately created), students are facing huge problems. The ultimate motive is to make these schemes ineffective if these couldn't be closed.

5. A recent review of MSDP, a flagship scheme of the MMA, reveals that this scheme has also been neglected and all effort has been made to make it ineffective. In 2015-16, Rs. 1,251.64 crore was earmarked under MSDP, while in 2016-17 its budget was reduced to Rs. 1,125 crore, a reduction of Rs. 126.64 crore. Not only this but resources needed to implement MSDP has been hit severely under this government. Several activists have said that the implementation of this scheme is confined to the paper only. When activists searched ITIs, polytechnics, hostels, school buildings and additional class rooms, they found nothing on the ground. They say that these works have been limited to papers and speeches only.<sup>20</sup> Within the block of backward districts not selected as MCBs, cluster of continuous minority concentration villages having at least 50 per cent minority population (25 per cent in the case of North-East states) would be identified. In NE states only 13 village-level clusters have

been identified. The situation is alarmingly bad in other states. This scheme has stopped yielding any result due to faulty implementation and apathy of the government.

6. NMDFC's budget of Rs. 170 crore in 2017-18 was reduced to Rs. 165 crore in 2018-19.<sup>21</sup>
7. Budget earmarked for Hamari Dharohar scheme in 2017-18 was Rs. 12 crore. It was reduced to Rs. 6 crore in 2018-19 budget which would be spent only on two exhibitions.<sup>21</sup>
8. Strengthening of State Waqf Boards has not found place in the budget of 2018-19.<sup>21</sup>
9. Sehat scheme was started from the budget of 2014-15 and initially Rs. 2 crore was earmarked. Only Rs. 1 lakh was released in 2014-15 which was also not spent. In 2015-16, only Rs. 1 lakh was earmarked which was also not spent. From the budget of 2016-17, the scheme was discontinued as there was no earmarking for it.<sup>22</sup>
10. Rs. 5 crore had been earmarked in 2012-13 for scheme of free cycles to girl students of class IX to improve education of girls of the minority communities. Only Rs. 4 lakh was released which was not spent. Since then there is no earmarking of funds for this scheme. This scheme has flopped totally.<sup>23</sup>
11. Nari Roshani, a scheme for Leadership Development of Minority Women has also been ineffective in the field and confined to papers only. Usually Rs. 15 crore has been earmarked in every budget which has never been spent fully. For training of minority women social organizations and NGOs are selected to train them. But leaving one or two organizations, rest are owned by the people who are not from minority communities. Thus the organizations which are taking benefit under this scheme have nothing to do with the welfare of the minorities. The Patna based social worker Shaista Ali says that this programme is basically a dummy enterprise in which only group photographs are taken to show off and no training is provided. There are reports that at some places training programme of minority women under this was started with Saraswati Vandana which of course did not go down well with the community.<sup>24</sup>

12. USTTAD (Upgrading Skill and Training in Traditional Arts for Development) is also yet to reach minorities as traditional arts and crafts of minorities are neglected and implementing agencies are hardly owned by Muslims.
13. A PSC on SJE rapped the MMA for not spending adequately on the publicity of schemes meant for welfare of minorities. The committee said that Rs. 50 crore was earmarked for publicity in the year 2016-17. However only Rs. 28.592 crore was utilized till 28 February 2017. The committee points out that low expenditure on publicity defeats the very purpose of minority schemes and initiatives to a large extent.<sup>25</sup>

#### REPORT AFTER REPORTS

A panel formed under the MAEF says that Muslims in India continue to be the most educationally and socially backward among the minorities. The 3-member panel (formed in December 2016 and submitting report to the MMA in July 2017) was headed by former IAS officer Afzal Amanullah and Qamar Agha, a journalist and Talat Ahmed, the Vice-Chancellor of JMI were its other two members. The panel suggested a three-tier education system—211 schools at the lowest level, 25 community colleges at middle and five premier national institutes at the top level. The schools—167 in rural and 44 in urban minority-dominated areas—will run on the lines of KVs and Navodaya Vidyalayas and will follow the CBSE curriculum. However, the scholars and community activists have expressed skepticism about implementation of these recommendations. At the time when the country has witnessed a spate of lynching and attacks on Muslims in the name of cow protection—there is a lot of doubt about the government's intention in implementing these recommendations. Going by the BJP's historical anti-Muslim stand, doubts will always remain about its commitment towards implementing these educational reforms. The minority minister, Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi while receiving the Committee's report said that the process to establish five world class educational institutions has already begun.<sup>26</sup> However, one doesn't find anything on the ground and Muslims have serious doubt on the government's intention to implement these provisions.

## IN THE END

## BJP's HOSTILE ATTITUDE

Invoking the Jan Sangh ideology, Deendayal Upadhyay, on 25 September 2016 at Kozhikode, PM Modi urged the BJP rank and file to empower Muslims, Dalits, the poor and the deprived. Modi said, 'Fifty years ago, Deendayal Upadhyayji said Muslims should not be treated as different people. Do not reward them, do not rebuke them, but empower them. They should not be looked down nor should be treated as substance for votes, but consider them your own.' The BJP resolved to eliminate economic inequality, discrimination and disparities as a primary goal for total reconstruction of India.<sup>27</sup>

However, the actual situation Muslims face today in India is horrible. Mob lynching, killings and attacks in the name of cow protection and communal riots have completely terrorized the community that is hardly paying any attention to socio-economic issues. These incidents have undermined Muslim confidence. Alienation, fear and silence are the end result. The government has no concrete plan for the development of Muslims of India. On the contrary, schemes started for the development of Muslims are deliberately being made ineffective and in some cases these are being dismantled. On all important matters of Muslim empowerment, the government has taken the opposite view which has disheartened the community. Muslims traditional businesses and industries have been targeted which is pushing the community to the margins. Although Muslims constitute about 19 per cent of the total population of UP, the party didn't give a single ticket to a Muslim candidate. The same was the case in the State Assembly elections of Gujarat, Bihar and other states where Muslims have a sizeable population. When intellectuals analyse the attitude of the BJP towards Muslims, they find the following reasons responsible for antagonism and deep-rooted enmity.

- (a) The RSS and the BJP want to relegate Indian Muslims to the status of a permanently deprived community that simply accepts what the majority gives it. This is in keeping with the 'Hindu Nation' theory of the RSS, where minorities are wel-



- come but they have to acknowledge their minority status and live under the majority's rule. They might even be looked after but their political or citizenship rights would be foregrounded.
- (b) The Hindutva organizations have targeted Muslims because they need a punching bag, a common enemy to unify the mythical 'Hindu Community'. A unified Hindu community is being created to gain political power and ultimately subjugate Dalits, tribals and Hindu OBCs under a broader Brahmanic dominance.
  - (c) The RSS/BJP leaders believe that focus on 'Muslim enemy' can divert the attention of common Hindus from poverty, unemployment, hunger, violence and absence of health/education facilities.
  - (d) The Modi mantra seems to be wealth for the rich and Hindutva for the poor to polarize the social space and remain in power.

The Statement of the PM (just mentioned above) and his rare statements on Muslims do not match with the stand of his government on major socio-economic issues. The cadres of the BJP and many Hindutva extremist organizations have unleashed violence and terror in the name of cow protection, Love Jihad, etc. However, Narendra Modi has remained silent on all these incidents. His selective statements when the Dalits were attacked in Una in Gujarat, explains his discriminatory attitude towards the Muslims. His concern of giving equal treatment to Muslims is fake and does not carry any real meaning. The task of Muslim empowerment (minus appeasement) is like shedding crocodile tears as no statement or speech (on Muslims) of Modi has been translated into action. Political analysts say that he has imbibed all the Hindutva traits of double-speak, rabble rousing and to lies which are taught in RSS shakhas.<sup>28</sup>

#### MMA FAILED COMPLETELY

The MMA under this regime (earlier under Najma Heptullah and now under Mukhtar Abbas Naqvi) has failed completely to safeguard the interest of Muslims, the largest chunk of minorities. In their view, only Parsis qualify to be a minority and not Muslims.

The MMA has taken anti-Muslim stand on many sensitive matters. Leaving some skill development programmes, it has completely failed to act on major recommendations of the SCR. Attitude of the ministry is presented as below:

1. Failed to act on major recommendations like, the creation of an EOC, setting up of Diversity Index, AAC, NDB, etc.
2. Failed to constitute a De-limitation Commission to de-reserve Muslim dominated constituencies.
3. Did not oppose the government when it opposed the minority status of the AMU and JMI.
4. No word on the issue of Muslim reservation and so also on SC status to Muslim Dalits.
5. Anti-Muslim views on matters of Hajj and Hajj subsidy.
6. Making ineffective the implementation of scholarship schemes and the MSDP.
7. Other minorities have cornered the benefits of schemes.
8. No action or progress on mainstreaming measures.
9. No word on the issue of increased violence against Muslims.
10. No step to implement the Kundu Committee recommendations.

After analysing the attitude of the MMA, the intellectuals say that the ministry has taken negative views on all issues of Muslim empowerment. On the contrary, it has acted as a ministry to protect the BJP and cover up its crime against Muslims.

#### COMMUNITY INITIATIVES

In a situation where the BJP takes negative views on all socio-economic matters of Muslims and the MMA has failed to safeguard their interests, it is inevitable for Muslims to start community initiatives on large scale. IMRC has launched four projects for Muslim empowerment. It has decided to renovate the Jama Masjid at AMU, to establish and upgrade ten skill development centres in Bihar, to expand the Indo-US hospital at Hyderabad and to construct a hostel for its civil services academy at Hyderabad. The Muslim Khatik Samaj of Jalgaon organized a *Talimi Qafila* (education

awareness drive) to ask Muslim Khatiks to educate their children first. Ahmad Ali, a 82-year old resident of Karimganj, Assam, was a rickshaw puller for nearly two decades. He donated at least 32 *bighas* of land out of his 36 *bighas* and has built as many as nine schools with monetary help from local areas. Similarly several community initiatives have been taken for overall development of the Muslim community. In a situation where the state has failed to address the main issues, the community may start initiatives on following subjects:

1. Education awareness drive.
2. Establishing mainstream schools for primary education.
3. For empowerment and upliftment of Muslim women to end their marginalization in the light of low representation.
4. In areas of health to provide latest medical facilities.
5. To provide relief in cases of natural calamities and communal riots.
6. Social and legal teams to pursue the national-level issues like reservation, SC status, Communal Violence Bill, etc.
7. Panel of advocates in all cities and towns to provide legal facilities for victims of targeted killings and for defence of people implicated in false cases. This can be extended to victims of all religions and faiths.
8. Chain of RTI activists to collect information on socio-economic issues of Muslims.
9. Dedicated coaching facilities for all government jobs to enhance representation in government employment.
10. Waqf protection force consisting of youth and retired revenue department officers to liberate Waqf properties.

#### MUSLIMS ROLE TO COME OUT OF THE SITUATION

The present situation (where socio-economic empowerment is derailed and identity and safety is threatened by the people in power) puts greater responsibility on Muslims to do deeper analysis of their problems and devise different ways to come out of the situation. Only Muslims (of course with the help of Dalits,

and secular minded upper-caste and OBC Hindus) can devise methods for their survival.

The PSEC highlighted that the state of Muslim education is a matter of great concern. Low level of education can have long term adverse effect on the community which in turn will have overall impact in the larger national economy. Therefore, the community needs to emphasize on the promotion of education among its members. Muslims have to prioritize education over every other need. At *Talimi Qafila* in Jalgaon, Mufti Haroon Nadvi said that Allah ordered us to study first, before keeping Roza, doing Namaz, Zakaat or before going on Hajj. He said, 'Do whatever job you want, sell chicken or meat but study first'.<sup>29</sup> Education is the only means of empowerment.

Muslim leaders and activists need to emulate their Dalit counterparts. Dalits are very quick in raising the voice against atrocities committed against them as in the case of Una in Gujarat. They use democratic methods effectively. Muslims need to learn this habit. Besides, Islam tells Muslims to help anyone who is being persecuted. They need to read this in the Islamic texts. Today Dalits are also being persecuted and harassed. It is the time for Muslims to support them in their difficult situation. Muslim-Dalit unity is the need of the hour as both these communities sail in the same boat. Today Muslims have the golden opportunity to lend full peaceful, democratic support to Dalits in the name of basic justice, human rights and humanity. With 15 per cent voters, Muslims can't influence elections on a national level. But together with Dalits they can send a resounding message in a number of states like Bihar, UP, Assam, WB, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala, Telangana, Gujarat, etc.

The biggest drawback the community faces is its inability to assert itself by deploying democratic means—protests, community sammelans, sits-ins, morchas, workshops, etc. Muslims do not gather on socio-economic issues. Bobby Naqvi says, 'They do, however, gather for religious functions. That is where the problem lies—instead of discussing social and economic issues affecting their community, they gather in *ijtemas* and hear about religion, something they do on a daily basis at homes, at mosques and at *madrasas*.

Social issues then take a back seat and the community gets is an overdose of religion'.<sup>30</sup> Keeping mum on important matters is not going to help the community. The members should assert their rights through democratic means.

Although Muslims constitute 14.2 per cent of population on the national level, they are in significant proportion in many states such as Assam, WB, Bihar, UP, Kerala, Gujarat, Maharashtra, etc. They do not rally, rise and speak up. They do not assert their numerical strength. Most of their demands are not met because 'demand side' is not strong. They have to develop a 'bargaining culture' for their just demands. They have to bargain on issues for community benefits and not for benefits of the individuals.

The community has sufficient resources in the form of *Zakaat*, *Sadaqah*, Waqf properties, etc., to be spent on its socio-economic empowerment. These resources are spent on donation to *madrasas*, construction of mosques, organizing huge *ijtemas*, etc. Now time has come to do audit and pool the resources in a proper way for socio-economic progress and protection of life and identify of community members. These resources may be spent for setting up of primary schools in villages/slums, setting up of coaching centres for various jobs, to organize workshops on current issues, to open skill training centres, to set up online news portals, for legal defence of innocents of all caste and religion, for victims of natural calamities and communal riots, to train and create community activists, etc. In this way effectiveness of resources spent for a particular purpose may be gauged after some time.

The current scenario for Muslims (socio-economic deprivation and attack on their life and identity) provides new opportunities. Tough times and difficult situations make people strong. Closure of schemes and anti-Muslim stands of the present government paves the way for community initiatives on a large scale. It compels members of a deprived community to do self-analysis and self-correction to survive in the difficult situation. Every attack gives two opportunities—defence and counter-attack. Allegations on *madrasas* by Hindutva elements and state agencies gives two opportunities—defence and counter-attack. Defence in the sense that the managers of *madrasas* get opportunity to defend them with the help of facts

and figures. Besides, they have chance to expose the seminaries/schools/*pathshalas* run by Hindutva organizations where syllabus of extreme nature is taught. Same is the case with attack on several identity issues. This requires too much reading on historical and contemporary issues.

#### SUMMING UP

Speaking at the Hindustan Times Leadership Summit on 1 December 2017, Barack Obama, the former US president said that when he was US president he had told PM Modi 'in person' that India must not be split on sectarian lines. He suggested that India must cherish the fact that Muslims in the country clearly identify themselves as Indians. He said, 'For a country like India where there is a Muslim population that is successful, integrated and considers itself as Indian, which is not the case in some other countries, this should be nourished and cultivated.'<sup>31</sup>

The Muslim population in India is among the largest in the world (exceeded only by Indonesia's), larger than the total population of most countries of the world. They are successfully integrated in the mainstream culture and they cherish their Indian identity. They have contributed a lot to nation building. Therefore, it is always suggested that Muslims can't be left behind and their interests must not be ignored. By keeping Muslims backward India is depriving itself of one-fifth of its valuable talents. To take India on a greater height, their participation in all fields is necessary.

Swami Vivekanand was a disciple of Sri Ramkrishna, the great saint of modern India. This saint taught universal love and compassion, not fear and hatred of 'the other'. Madan Mohan Malviya, the founder of Banaras Hindu University, said, 'India is not a country of Hindus only. It is a country of the Muslims, the Christians and the Parsees too. The country can gain strength and develop itself where the people of India live in mutual goodwill and harmony'.<sup>32</sup> The BJP and Hindutva forces should take lesson from these statements if they love Indian which they claim always. They should treat and consider Muslims as original inhabitants of this country

and part and parcel of larger Indian society. The feeling of alienation should be eliminated and they should be treated as an equal citizen of the country. For this the BJP, RSS and members of other Hindutva organizations have to end hostility, fear and discrimination practiced against Muslims. The government at the centre and in states should create a sense of belongingness by eliminating insecurity and fear among them. The material benefits of equal development may follow later on. A report of the Steering Committee of Planning Commission titled 'Empowerment of Minorities' states that: 'for effective implementation of any welfare policy, the alienation and disempowerment among Muslims need to be acknowledged and challenged. A sense of persecution and general insecurity and fear of state institutions adds to non-participation and non-productivity'.<sup>32</sup>

Observing the current scenario, Jamal Khwaja, a communist, writes, 'Hindu unity and solidarity are, certainly, very desirable. But, I submit, a lasting union of the heads and hearts of the people of India is of still higher value'.<sup>33</sup> Unity and harmony among all the people of India is a necessary as well as sufficient condition for India's progress and development. The sense of belongingness and participation among minorities (especially in Muslims) is necessary for India's all round development. India can't dream of a super-power status on the world level by leaving Muslims behind.

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